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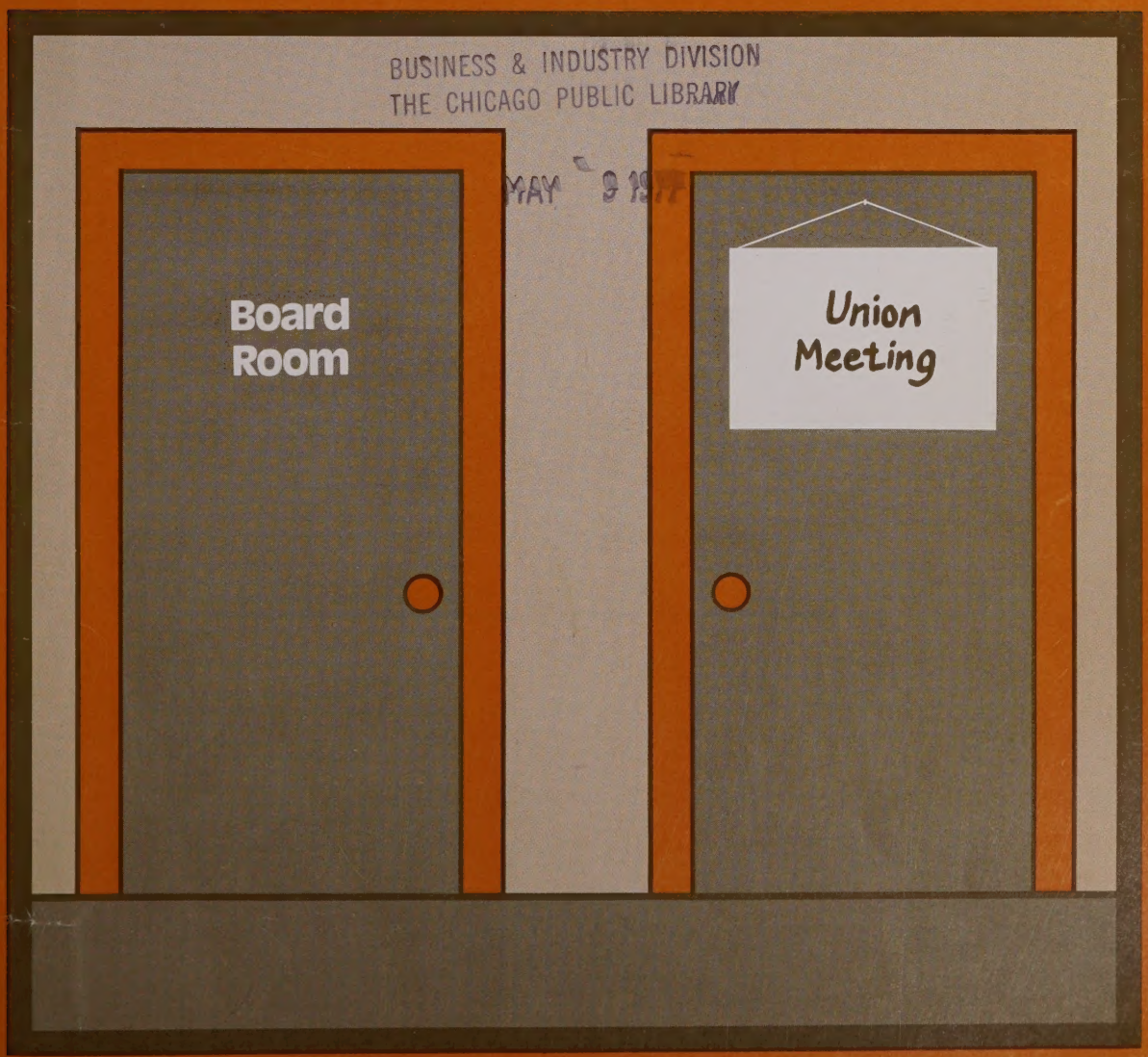

Co-determination in Canada?

the labour gazette

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INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Dutch "work structuring" deemed limited success

The Netherlands has found its past efforts at "work structuring" to be less than a total success, and is launching a new series of experiments supervised by the country's productivity committee.

In the 1960s, employees in several companies were given more control over their own work and their immediate work environment, through experiments in organizational change initiated by management.

While there were some increases in both productivity and job satisfaction when the first experimental period ended four or five years ago, "there was a feeling that the results fell short of expectations," according to an analysis in *World of Work Report,* a monthly publication of Work in America Institute Inc., based in Scarsdale, N.Y.

There were complaints that the projects were often confined to only small sections of companies, and that managers were taking too narrow a view of the potential for organizational change. Workers complained that "job consultation" techniques were used to solve management's problems while employee problems were ignored. Unions criticized work structuring methods as "anti-union and manipulative."

Hence, the report says, the country's unions have been growing disillusioned with work structuring and have been increasingly "focussing on radical, politically-oriented action."

"The harmony of interests between labour and capital, rarely questioned a quarter-century ago, is no longer accepted," it adds.

Nevertheless, despite union inclination to be "unco-operative" the new experiments are expected to get off the ground, with "sufficient guarantees to protect the interests of workers and unions."

PEOPLE

New UAW leader

Douglas A. Fraser, 60, United Auto Workers' vice-president, in charge of the Chrysler division, has been selected by his fellow officers to succeed Leonard Woodcock, 65, who is retiring as president of the union. He will be formally elected at the UAW's May convention.

Marshall new U.S. labor secretary

F. Ray Marshall, 49, has been appointed U.S. labor secretary by President Jimmy Carter. Marshall served in the Navy during the Second World War, after which he returned to university where he received a doctorate in economics from the University of California. Marshall had been serving as chairman of the economics department at the University of Texas until his appointment to the labor portfolio.

AFL-CIO President George Meany expressed approval of the appointment this way: "Ray Marshall has had a long and distinguished career in the academic world as a labor economist whose views are liberal, informed, and sensible. We have worked closely with him in the past in programs to enhance the employment opportunities of the underprivileged. He will have our full co-operation in the effort to achieve full employment, full production, and a balanced economy."

THE WORKPLACE

Casual clothes acceptable

The traditional business suit is becoming much less common for office wear, according to a survey by the Dartnell Institute of Business Research in Chicago, Ill.

The leisure suit was acceptable dress for 80 per cent of the 300 U.S. and Canadian companies surveyed, and 98 per cent accepted a sports coat. A tie was not regarded as a necessary accessory by 65 per cent.

However, "more formal organizations" — banks, insurance companies, hospitals and government offices — permitted sports coats but required that ties be worn with them.

Co-ordinated pant suits were acceptable women's wear for all the employees, but only 25 per cent would permit employees to wear jeans.

EMPLOYMENT

Husband-wife teams

Some U.S. companies are relaxing their rules against employing wives or husbands of senior officers, with favourable results.

"A by product of women's movement into management — and their refusal to remain single — the company couple is beginning to flourish," says the U.S. periodical, *Business Week.*

"The consensus is that both companies and couples find it advantageous: The company obtains access to desirable employees it might otherwise miss and gets a fair assurance of their top-flight performance because husband and wife tend to reinforce each other," *Business Week* finds. "For their part, the husband and wife share common interests, understand each other's work problems, and in some cases receive the company's help in managing dual careers."

But there are also liabilities, the periodical reports — "the risk that one partner will be penalized if the other runs into trouble and the possibility that the two careers will collide — for instance if both wind up competing for the same job or reporting to the same supervisor."

Promotions involving transfers can also be a problem, since many companies cannot provide positions for both spouses in the same city.

Sometimes a spouse may choose to forego a promotional opportunity involving a transfer in order not to move away from his or her partner.

Usually transfers go smoothly in larger companies such as International Business Machines Corporation. One IBM couple, Robert and Eleanore Young, have moved together from St. Louis to Washington to Indianapolis and to Detroit in the nine years they have been married.

WOMEN

More years working

U.S. labor department statistics show women are spending more years in the workforce while men are spending fewer.

That conclusion emerges from an analysis by researchers, Howard N. Fullerton and James J. Byrne, published in *Monthly Labor Review.*

In 1900 the average man experienced five times as many years of labour-force participation as the average woman — 32.1 years to 6.3. By 1970, that ratio had fallen to less than twice as many years. During the 1960-70 decade alone, women's work-life expectancy at birth rose from 20.1 years to 22.9 while men's declined from 41.1 to 40.1.

"This means that women are increasing their contribution to wage and salary employment in the United States," the researchers write.

"The striking feature about recent growth in women's work-life expectancy is that it has occurred among married women, including those with children," they add.

"In 1970, 1 in 3 women with children under 6 was in the labour force; this compares with an average of about 1 in 5 as late as 1960. Motherhood, traditionally the most important symbol of differentiated sex roles, is less a barrier to a career than ever before."

More daycare needed

About one in six mothers with pre-school children would look for work if free daycare were available, a study commissioned by the U.S. labor department finds.

The study, which traced the labour market activities of 5,000 women from 1967 to 1972, also found that relatively few of the mothers had established working careers.

One half of the single women and one third of married women without children had established careers and worked in the same field for most of their time since leaving school. This compared with only 7 per cent of women with children having careers.

The study was conducted by the centre for human research at Ohio State University. The labor department has extended it for a further five years.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Swedish anti-dismissal laws rapped by employers

Swedish employers are becoming increasingly critical of an anti-

dismissal law in force since July, 1974.

The law prohibits the dismissal of employees for all but the most serious errors. It also requires that strict seniority rules apply when layoffs are needed because of shut-downs.

Restrictions on dismissals exist in most European countries, but Sweden's law is the most rigid. It leaves "virtually no room for discretionary action by the employers," says *World of Work Report,* a monthly periodical of Work in America Institute, Scarsdale, N.Y.

Under the law, employees who feel they have been dismissed unjustly may appeal to the Labour Court which can order reinstatement and payment of damages and court costs. Penalties of up to $10,000 have been ordered for unjust dismissal of a single employee.

The law has had several effects on the job market. It has made employers wary of hiring new people unless it is absolutely necessary to do so. And "because employers are anxious to hire only the most reliable workers, the result is that workers on the margins of the labour market — the young, the old and the handicapped — find it difficult to be given the chance to prove themselves."

However, the law's defenders maintain the penalties against companies are necessary "to protect employees from arbitrary action by employers."

"Human relations" managers important

Personnel, or "human relations" managers may become among the most important people in North American industry, according to Ross A. Hennigar, president of Sun Oil Company.

As capital dollars become even harder to find in future, industry will have to make better use of its human resources, he said in an address to the Personnel Association of Toronto.

The time is long past when companies can afford to use their personnel departments "as a sort of dumping ground for executive misfits," Hennigar added.

He described developments in industry that have made it essential for companies to renew their emphasis on applying the findings of human behaviour research to increase productivity:

"In the past 30 years, North American industry has been able to cope with the decreasing productivity of its labour force by investing and reinvesting heavily in capital equipment and automation.

"There certainly will be opportunities to do so in the future but the quantum advances which we have been able to achieve in the past are unlikely...

"Capital dollars are going to be increasingly difficult to come by and also very expensive to repay and increasingly difficult to justify spending.

"This trend could well result in making the HR function the most important one in a company, because instead of buying improved productivity, we are going to come to realize, at long last, that the apparently trite phrase 'people are our most important asset' is fact, and that those companies that face up to this truism will be those that grow and thrive."

Hennigar said the General Motors Lordstown plant provides a striking example of what North American industry is facing.

"GM built one of the most advanced, automated, technically sound, capital intensive automobile manufacturing plants in the world. But it didn't work because the people systems had not been developed or engineered that would allow it to work.

"GM recognized their problem and decided they did not have the internal resources to solve it. They hired Stephen Fuller who was an associate dean of the Harvard Business School to head up a new personnel administration and development group.

"His primary goal is to develop people systems for the 70s and 80s and I'm confident GM will be successful in showing the way in human technology in the next 10 years as they have been in manufacturing technology in the last 10."

Hennigar said many other companies are also pursuing similar projects. He also admitted that "in this era of tight budgets and cost control programs" his suggestion might not be readily accepted.

But one of the best arguments in favour of embarking on a human relations development program is the cost-saving factor:

"Management is and will continue to be concerned about the rising cost of labour. It is simply sound competitive management for business to seek out and develop ways to cut labour costs by fuller development of the workforce already employed."

He added: "Perhaps the most impressive argument, however, is that investment in human relations development provides a potentially high rate of return." lg

In praise of participation

by Ed Finn

As interest grows in the concept of "industrial democracy" — however, that imprecise term may be defined — I receive more and more requests for recommended reading on the subject. Up till a few months ago, my suggestions, with the notable exception of Harold Wilson's ground-breaking *Democracy and the Workplace,* were confined mostly to European and American sources.

No longer. In its last August, September and October editions, *The Labour Gazette* published a total of 18 interrelated articles on "worker participation" and "decision-sharing." Taken together, they provide enough basic facts, interpretations, analyses, and comments on industrial democracy to serve as a sort of "beginner's course," and as ideal material for discussion.

The *Gazette* series is not comprehensive. If focuses mainly on West Germany's "Mitbestimmung" or co-determination, with a side glance or two at the Swedish brand of industrial democracy. But there is much in the German system — such as works councils and employee representation on boards of directors — that is common to those of other European nations. And certainly the broader social and philosophical questions raised by co-determination are the same as for any other kind of worker participation in other countries.

The resurgence of interest in industrial democracy in Canada was no doubt sparked by the release last year of the Labour Canada-sponsored study of co-determination by Charles J. Connaghan. His report — "Partnership or Marriage of Convenience" — has been widely read and discussed, particularly his proposals for applying some variation of the West German system in Canada.

Ed Finn, information director for the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers union, writes a regular column on labour for The Toronto Star.

Connaghan and most other authors in this collection of essays admit that the form industrial democracy takes in any country must flow from its intrinsic social, historical, political and economic traditions. What works in one culture may fail completely in an alien milieu.

The differences between the Canadian and West German labour relations settings are as deep as they are numerous. In Canada, labour legislation is divided among the federal and provincial governments, making the development of a country-wide system much more difficult than it is in West Germany, where federal policy prevails. Canada's labour movement is fragmented into hundreds of unions, whereas in West Germany each industry has only one union. This makes centralized planning and decision-making much easier.

Labour is a highly respected institution in West Germany, as in most other parts of Europe, is consulted by government in the formulation of economic policies, and accorded a position of equality with business. In Canada, unions are still barely tolerated, are rarely consulted in high-level policy talks, and are denied full partnership status in running the economy.

Perhaps the most serious differences are in attitude rather than structure. Unions and employers in Canada are much more committed to the adversarial approach and much less receptive to a co-operative relationship than their West German counterparts. Union leaders here are suspicious of any proposals for "fraternizing with the enemy," and managers are reluctant to share their powers and prerogatives with their employees.

While recognizing these divergent factors, Connaghan nevertheless felt that some progress toward the goal of co-determination could be made in Canada. He recommended that the federal government set up some form of tripartite council to review the state of the economy, provide more complete and accurate data to the parties in collective bargaining, consult with them on proposed labour legislation, encourage the merger of unions to reduce them to one for each industry, establish institutes to improve the professionalism of union and company negotiators, and commission further study of the works council concept with a view to modifying it to fit the Canadian environment.

These proposals by Connaghan formed the takeoff point for many of the other authors in the *Gazette's* series. They should be viewed in tandem with a much less publicized — but equally impressive — report conducted by Paul Malles, also on the subject of co-

determination and also prepared for Labour Canada. In his article, Malles explores in greater detail the forms that co-determination might take in Canada. He begins with the premise that collective bargaining is itself a form of co-determination, but is more limited in Canada by the narrow scope of most contract negotiations, and by the denial to unions of legal equality with employers.

"A change in attitudes rather than radical institutional change is required," he declares. He feels that a system of statutory works councils in Canada could serve as a corollary to (not a substitute for) collective bargaining, and cites several possible advantages. Among them: to create greater uniformity in working conditions; to promote a consolidation of our splintered bargaining system; to resolve problems that arise during the term of an agreement; to help change the present hierarchical structure of Canadian industries to a more democratic one; to facilitate experiments in new work methods; and to offer better protection to employees who remain unorganized.

Malles concedes the barriers that would have to be overcome in creating works councils in Canada — especially the objections likely to be raised by both labour and management. But, like Connaghan, he is optimistic that, with Ottawa's encouragement, progress can be made in this direction.

The federal government has already responded in a positive way to the Connaghan and Malles reports. The 14-point plan for improving labour relations unveiled last fall by Labour Minister John Munro [LG, Oct. '76], and actively promoted since by his department, conforms closely to their proposals. This applies particularly to the idea of a multi-partite consultative forum, creation of a

The genuine labour radicals are those who...have enough confidence...to give co-determination a trial

collective bargaining information centre, promotion of more worker participation at the plant level, labour education and paid educational leave, formation of plant health and safety committees, and the encouragement of broader-based bargaining.

All these initiatives, to the extent that they are effective will help to break down both the structural and attitudinal obstacles that now stand in the way of a transition from the adversarial to the co-operative relationship between government, management and labour in Canada.

In the meantime, the *Gazette's* excellent anthology furnishes all the information required for informed debate. The 18 authors include representatives of labour, business, government, academe, and the press, based in several European countries and the United States, as well as Canada.

There is considerable repetition in their essays — unavoidable since they are tilling the same ground — but they come at the subject from so many angles and with such different views that the cumulative effect is complementary.

The essays can be divided into three categories: those that are chiefly expository, describing how the West German and Swedish systems operate; those that explore the feasibility of adapting such methods for Canadian use; and those that are frankly skeptical and critical, rejecting any chance of developing the co-determination concept in any form in Canada or the U.S.

The descriptive articles include those by Friedrich Furstenberg, Rudolf Vollmer, Roger Blanpain, Karl Elling, Willem Albeda and Olle Hammarstrom, as well as the two pieces reprinted from *Sweden Now.* In addition to Connaghan and Malles, Jean Pascal of Labour Canada, Donald Rumball of *The Financial Post,* and John Clarke of *The Vancouver Province* speculate on the prospects for co-determination in Canada.

Pascal's piece is a good explication of Connaghan's report, underlining the crucial point that Mitbestimmung does not replace collective bargaining, but rather supplements it.

Pascal also emphasizes the paramount need for changes in attitude. "The problems of making co-determination work," she notes, "is that it depends for its effectiveness on the attitudes and abilities of understanding and compromise which the parties bring to the process, and it requires some displacement of the existing balance of power between management and unions."

If co-determination can be made to work, its advantages, says Pascal, are that the non-adversarial climate it engenders expands the employees' involvement in decision-making, greatly reduces conflict, and raises employee morale and productivity. But if it *can't* be made to work once established by law, she warns, "it may either wither into a non-productive use of management and employee time...or turn it into an additional arena of employer-employee tension."

The two journalists offer optimistic and pessimistic assessments. Rumball, the optimist, doesn't lightly dismiss the difficulties entailed in shaking loose from the adversary system. It's a system he thinks "has locked both sides into stereotyped thinking" and an

unwillingness to innovate. On the one hand, there's the businessmen's fear that unions given further power and a voice in management would be irresponsible. Union officials, on the other hand, see themselves being co-opted and turned into tools of management.

But Rumball is convinced these mental blocs can be replaced by "trust, co-operation and a sharing of information," so that both parties "recognize basic mutual objectives even if the lines are blurred by conflicts of interest." Lest he be considered hopelessly Utopian, he cites the example of Labbatt's Breweries where "single team bargaining" — unquestionably a form of co-determination — has been successfully implemented. He could also have mentioned the Supreme Aluminum Co. at Pickering, Ont., Carling-O'Keefe Breweries, and Kootenay Forest Products in British Columbia, all of which have introduced some form of co-management or worker participation in recent years. Rumball argues that these examples, while they may be relatively few as yet, prove that co-determination can work in Canada, given a desire on both sides to make it work.

Clarke acknowledges all the advantages of co-determination, but he sees virtually no prospect of applying the German model in Canada. Our economic, political and geographical diversities, he feels, are just too immense to be reconciled. Canadian business is not prepared to yield or share more authority with the unions, and Canadian governments remain unwilling to accord labour the respect and prestige it enjoys in Europe. Nor are the unions themselves receptive to the idea of abandoning the adversarial role to which they have become so accustomed. "Ultimately," Clarke concludes, "Canada's labour relations problems will be resolved only through a home-grown system that reconciles the peculiar difficulties of the country."

The difference between the two journalists, basically, is that, while they both perceive the problems, Rumball thinks that the unacceptable levels of conflict flowing from the adversary system will dictate its displacement by co-determination, whereas Clarke thinks the present system is too deeply entrenched.

The most negative reaction to Connaghan's report, and to the whole concept of worker-management partnership, comes from the three union contributors, Canada's Gilbert Levine and R. Kent Rowley, and Thomas R. Donahue of the AFL-CIO. They reject co-determination as a trap devised by the enemies of workers to weaken unions, increase profits, and restrict the scope of collective bargaining.

Levine and Rowley both insist that "true" industrial democracy can exist only under a system of public ownership, in which workers own the means of production, and that it will come "from pressure below, in the workplace. Industrial democracy cannot be imposed by the boss." Levine claims that those who are beating the drums for industrial democracy "are not calling for workers' control. What they want is control of workers." He says there is virtually no support for the concept among Canada's union leaders.

If there is a gap in the *Gazette* series, it is the absence of a favourable view from a labour spokesman. With Levine and Rowley condemning co-determination as a dirty capitalist trick, and Donahue spurning it as unnecessary and unsuited to this continent, the inference is left that this reflects the unanimous opinion of all Canadian workers. That is obviously not so, as the examples of Canadian experiments with industrial democracy clearly show.

I may be excused, therefore, if I offer a brief rejoinder to the Levine-Rowley-Donahue thesis on behalf of those unionists — still admittedly in the minority — who would be ready to give co-determination a trial.

The first point is that public ownership doesn't automatically create a more fertile ground for industrial democracy — as witness the continuing turmoil in the Post Office. Secondly, workers' control may be a commendable long-term objective, but is it any more likely to evolve from the adversary system than from co-determination? I would argue that co-determination offers a much better launching pad for the leap to workers' control than does the unending warfare we have endured the past 100 years. To the charge that co-determination props up and perpetuates capitalism and free enterprise, I would reply that this is even more true of the present adversary system of labour relations. Levine and Rowley are well aware that unions in North America are appendages of private enterprise, co-existing and adapting to it, not challenging it in any serious way. If that has been the situation for more than a century, why should it be any different in another hundred years of the adversarial approach?

Co-determination, however, changes the relationship between employers and workers in a manner that at least offers some prospect for a gradual transformation of the master-servant setup into one of some semblance of equality. If union leaders and members are as smart and as capable as the proponents of workers' control maintain — with the latent ability to take over

managerial functions and eventually ownership — they would surely be in a better position to achieve that goal once they actually got on the boards of directors, and won a share in managerial decision-making.

I have been called naive for expressing this opinion, but I think the really ingenuous trade unionists are those who reject all proposals for change except an instantaneous conversion from private enterprise to a worker-controlled paradise. They like to regard themselves as radicals, but in truth they are the real conservatives in the labour movement. On the pretext of wanting an impossible overnight revolution, they cling to a sterile and outmoded system that dooms Canadian workers to continued exploitation and subservience. The genuine labour radicals are those who are not afraid of change, and who have enough confidence in their own intelligence and integrity to give co-determination a trial without fear of being co-opted or corrupted.

Ironically, two of the most ardent champions of workers' control in Canada, Harold Wilson and Gerry Hunnius, take much less doctrinaire positions in their essays than the labour spokesmen do. Wilson agrees with Levine and Rowley that real industrial democracy must start from the grassroots, but he is not averse to the gradualist approach that co-determination in some form may provide. Hunnius expresses fear that labour would be very much the junior partner in any tripartite arrangement with business and government. But he does not dismiss the possibility that real progress in shop-floor democracy could emerge from a switch to co-determination in this country.

The voice of business has been relatively muted on this subject. Connaghan himself, of course, was

...public ownership doesn't automatically create a more fertile ground for industrial democracy...

formerly president of the Construction Labour Relations Association in B.C., and as such a prominent business spokesman. The only other Canadian business view in the *Gazette's* collection comes from Robert Bandeen, president of Canadian National, who takes a surprisingly enlightened stand. While not addressing himself specifically to the issue of co-determination, he speaks glowingly of industrial democracy, favours putting workers on boards of directors, and calls for the humanization and enrichment of the workplace. As the sole voice of Canadian business in the series, however, Bandeen cannot be considered as expounding the general management view, or even a majority position. There is little evidence that his enthusiasm for greater employee involvement in running the plant is shared by many of his colleagues.

Most other writers in the series who touch on management reaction to Connaghan's report portray that reaction as skeptical at best, hostile at worst, and just as determined to stick with the adversary system as are most labour leaders.

In sum, however, my impression of this series of essays as a whole is that they convey a hopeful — even an inspirational — message that anyone involved with Canada's labour relations system would be unwise to ignore. The message is that there is a better way to develop the productive and creative resources of working people — a better way than the system of labour-management-government warfare that has troubled the Canadian economy for so long.

The Europeans have discovered that workers have more to contribute to the enterprise than their brawn. They have brains, too. By bringing them into the managerial side and involving them in the decision-making process, by treating them as partners instead of servants, their untapped abilities are harnessed, their humanity is reaffirmed.

It is the principle of co-determination that counts. Those writers who point to all the social and cultural differences between Canada and Europe have a valid argument against a trans-Atlantic transfer of the European model. But those differences do not preclude the establishment of a Canadianized form of co-determination, tailored to our specific needs.

The Europeans basically have only one attribute that most of us lack. That is maturity. Out of their longer history and experience has emerged a willingness to extend the benefits (and the responsibilities) of democracy beyond the political into the economic arena. That is essentially what co-determination, and all other kinds of industrial democracy, are all about: the emancipation of workers from an authoritarian work system, and their enfranchisement as equals in the production process.

It is surely not beyond the ingenuity of Canadians to devise a labour relations structure that accomplishes that objective. All that we lack is the maturity to recognize that this is an idea whose time has at last come for Canada — and the will to make it a reality. lg

Canada cannot import German-style co-determination

by Ghislain Dufour

"It must be realized that as a result of the increased powers invested in unions by the new Co-determination Act, companies, society in general and, in the final analysis, the government itself, have come under the domination of the trade union movement."

This observation, made by the Confederation of German Employers Associations after the new Co-determination Act took effect in West Germany last July 1, sums up rather accurately the feelings with which German employers in general greeted this legislation.

The basic reasons for the German employers' opposition to co-determination can be attributed to their rejection of the unions' arguments regarding the benefits that accrue to both workers and the economy in general from co-determination, and their belief in certain principles that the trade union movement generally does not embrace.

The arguments advanced by the unions in support of co-determination can generally be summarized as follows: the trade union movement advocates co-determination as a means of transforming the worker from an economic subject to a full economic citizen and of giving him the feeling that he is living not only in a political but also in an economic democracy. The unions further argue that co-determination is designed to do away with autocratic systems of management and to introduce into companies an element of industrial democracy, a necessary complement to political democracy; that co-determination is necessary to prevent the concentration of economic powers in the hands of management; that very large enterprises are no longer a purely private domain and that in any case, ownership alone is no longer enough to legitimize the power wielded by management; that co-determination alleviates uncertainties with respect to job security and promotes fairer wages and job classifications; and finally, that co-determination results in better informed staff within the enterprises, and consequently, enables the worker to identify more closely with the enterprise for which he works.

Ghislain Dufour is executive vice-president of le Conseil du Patronat du Québec, the Quebec employers' council.

As impressive as this assessment by the German trade union movement may seem, employers are far from convinced. In fact, they have developed a cohesive set of counterclaims. In their opinion, it is impossible to manage a company efficiently by applying democratic principles. Important decisions cannot be a matter for compromise among groups representing opposing interests.

The employers also reject categorically the statement that co-determination is necessary to prevent the concentration of economic powers in the hands of management. In a market economy, the activity of the market itself controls the distribution of economic power, and this automatic control is supplemented by various items of legislation. Consequently, it is pointless to introduce an additional control that would only hinder the efficient functioning of industry. Furthermore, even assuming that such a control were necessary, it would be up to the state, and not the unions, to exercise it in the interests of the population as a whole. The unions are not called upon to function as public institutions because that is not their role.

The employers have advanced a completely different argument to counter the unions' assertion that large industrial enterprises are no longer in the purely private domain and that ownership no longer suffices to legitimize the power wielded by management. In effect, they state that the repercussions of decisions taken by management are felt not only by the shareholders but also by the working class and the public in general. Two basic principles are at issue here. First, there is the right of ownership. There is nothing that more clearly distinguishes a free society from all others than the recognition of the right of ownership. It is unfortunate that attacks on private ownership are being renewed in the context of co-determination.

The second principle at issue is

that the number of shareholders does not alter the nature of their right of ownership. Each shareholder assumes a full financial risk. Furthermore, it is untrue that economic decisions are taken without regard for the interests of either salaried employees or the general public. Today, ownership entails an obligation to both the public and the workers. Companies accept these obligations, even without the benefit of any real protection. The risk is, and must remain, completely theirs. Their success still depends, as in the past, on the skill, initiative and energy displayed by management. These are the qualities on which the future success of the economy hinges.

The employers see co-determination as leading directly to an increase in the trade unions' control over not only individual companies but also the economy in general. Some very pointed questions have thus been raised regarding the role and the responsibilities of the trade union movement in a market economy, but the movement itself has been unable to provide any satisfactory answers. For example, does the new role created by co-determination not in fact destroy one of the very cornerstones of the free collective bargaining system, namely, a balance of power between organized labour and capital? Does it not lead to direct control of the economy by the unions without their having received a mandate to that effect from the public?

Moreover, the employers' arguments with respect to the workers' actual interests tend to be less academic and to be based on facts. Thus, the questions raised by the employers in this regard were simply these: In their daily work, do "ordinary" workers who enjoy certain powers under co-determination feel that they are treated more fairly than their counterparts in companies of the same size which are not subject to co-determination? Do companies with co-determination have a better work environment? In short, has co-determination caused the worker to become more fully integrated in the economy and society?

Important decisions cannot be a matter for compromise among groups representing opposing interests

It was with these questions in mind that in the mid-sixties the EMNID Institute for Social Research undertook an opinion poll among 2,000 workers employed by companies with a staff of more than 2,000. Approximately half of those polled were covered by the special Co-determination Act of 1951 (applying only to the coal and steel industries) while the other half were not.

The general results of this survey, conducted more than 10 years after the introduction of co-determination, supported the employers' contention that the integration of a worker in his company depends on a large number of personal, human, technical and economic factors and not on co-determination.

More specifically, these results were conclusive with respect to some of the most important aspects of the companies' operations. For example, with regard to information about the workplace, the organization of the company, production, fringe benefits and so on, the workers outside the jurisdiction of the Co-determination Act felt better informed than workers in the coal and steel industries.

On the question of job security, the same favourable reaction was expressed by employees who were not subject to co-determination (see Table I).

Table I

"Do you believe that if the company for which you work were to encounter economic difficulties, it would lay off part of its staff immediately, consider the matter very thoroughly before taking such action or make every possible effort to avoid lay-offs?"

	Companies operating under the normal system %	Coal and steel industries %
Institute immediate layoffs	11	28
Consider the matter thoroughly	23	20
Try to avoid layoffs	59	42
No reply	7	10
	100	100
Sample	947	1,045

One question also dealt with how the workers felt about their role within the company. Here again, the answers received painted an unfavourable picture in the case of companies operating under co-determination, as indicated in Table II.

When workers were asked whether they identified with the company for which they worked, the replies received again favoured companies not subject to co-determination. (Table III)

More importantly, this question was accompanied by a positive-negative profile. The workers were asked to answer a large number of questions regarding their company, and at the same time, to rank their company on a scale with two contradictory positions at opposite ends. Again, the results showed that workers who were not subject to co-determination consistently expressed a more favorable opinion of their company.

Finally, on the question of pay — a key issue in the whole debate on co-determination — the results were most interesting. In the case of companies operating under the normal system, 79 per cent of the employees polled replied in the affirmative, either categorically or with reservations, when asked whether or not they were satisfied. In the case of companies operating under co-determination, the corresponding figure was only 57 per cent. The proportion of employees who stated that they were dissatisfied was 20 per cent in the first case and 41 per cent in the second! (Table IV)

It is not surprising, then, to find that German employers have given the July 1, 1976 Act a very lukewarm reception and to read about the negative reactions that it engendered.

Moreover, from a more general standpoint, it should be noted that the German legislators chose not to adopt the recommendations of the Biedenkopf Commission, which had stated in its analysis of co-determination in 1970 that it felt it undesirable to extend equality of representation to sectors other than the coal and steel industries, since the latter's experience did not necessarily represent an example to be emulated.

Could the West German form of co-determination, as instituted by the July 1976 Act, be imported into Canada, and more importantly, would it be acceptable to Canadian employers? In point of fact, there is no reason to believe that Canadian employers would not use the same arguments as German employers (and they are already doing so) in opposing the introduction of co-determination. There is no doubt that Canadian employers share the view of their German counterparts on all of the major principles we examined earlier: the right of ownership, the

Table II

	Companies operating under the normal system %	Coal and steel industries %
Very satisfied	32	21
Satisfied	57	51
Not very satisfied	5	12
Would prefer to work elsewhere	3	12
No reply	3	3
	100	100
Sample	947	1,045

Table III

"When the company for which you work is criticized, do you defend it, listen to its critics in silence, or endorse the criticism?"

	Companies operating under the normal system %	Coal and steel industries %
In that eventuality, I defend my company	56	32
I listen in silence	18	24
I endorse the criticism	15	30
No reply	10	15
	100	100
Sample	947	1,045

Table IV

Pay	Companies operating under the normal system %	Coal and steel industries %
Very satisfied	12	7
More satisfied than not	59	38
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	27	47
More dissatisfied than not	2	8
Very dissatisfied	0	0
	100	100
Sample	947	1,045

fundamental right to manage their companies efficiently, and the prevention of an excessive concentration of power in the hands of the trade union movement.

It is relevant to point out here that the Connaghan Report, which was commissioned by the federal Department of Labour, and which analyses the possibilities of applying the various forms of German co-determination within the Canadian context, in no way advocates co-determination as an appropriate management solution to any of the labour relations problems existing in Canada. [LG, Aug. '76] Moreover, aside from the similarity between the objections expressed by German and Canadian employers, it is interesting to note several other reasons that would militate against the introduction of the German formula into Canada:

1. In the field of labour-management relations, Canada belongs to the North American tradition of industrial democracy, the cornerstone of which continues to be collective bargaining. This type of democracy, based on bargaining power, or an adversary system of labour-capital relations, leaves little room for equal representation in decision-making in the upper echelons of large enterprises; moreover, it is generally supported by the North American companies and major unions alike. In fact, the companies are not alone in their opposition to the concept of co-determination. We would have considerable difficulty finding any large Canadian union prepared to articulate a model of corporate management based on co-determination. Moreover, the Canadian Labour Congress itself concluded a few years ago that collective bargaining was the best formula for achieving industrial democracy.

The employers see co-determination as leading directly to an increase in the trade unions' control...over the economy

Even more recently, in June 1976, this same Canadian Labour Congress, in formulating a model to provide for worker involvement in modern Canadian society, suggested not radical changes to traditional corporate management techniques, but rather a redistribution of the power of the state among the labour movement, employers and the government. Furthermore, as Professor Gerry Hunnius of York University so aptly puts it, would the West German unions themselves have asked for the type of co-determination introduced into the coal and steel industries had it not been imposed on the country (companies and unions alike) by Great Britain and the United States shortly after the War? [LG, Aug. '76]

There is no question but that Canadian employers as a whole have faith in our North American system of labour-management relations. This being the case, they must agree with both of the following viewpoints:

A continuing effort must be made to ensure that company decisions will be made by the actual owners, that its legal capacity will remain intact, that the parties to collective agreements will remain independent of each other and that the diversity of social groups will not be endangered by an excessive concentration of power in the hands of the unions. (International Organization of Employers, "Participation by employees in the decision-making process," Strasbourg: Council of Europe, cited in Renschler, 1974).

It is not the role of trade unionists to participate in management. Their duty is to protect and defend the interests of their members. To this end, they must co-operate as closely as possible with employers. When the occasion so requires, however, the unions must tell the employers in no uncertain terms that a particular approach is not in the interests of their members. (Statement by the

President of the British Trade Union Congress, cited in Walker, "Workers' participation in management — problems, practice and prospects," ILLS Bulletin, 1975).

2. There is not only a basic difference between the philosophy underlying the Canadian system of labour relations, which attaches greater significance to the role of the local company and the local union, and that underlying the German system, where the collective bargaining power is centralized, but also a number of differences between the two countries which make it impossible to transplant formulas for co-determination from the one country to the other. Some of these differences are:

- union and management structures are highly centralized in Germany;

- there is no militant union activity at the factory level in Germany, as is the case in Canada;

- in Germany, the large unions are often entrepreneurs themselves, and the experience they acquire in this capacity may enable them to place much less emphasis on ideology in their approach to management problems than Canadian unions do;

- there are fundamental differences between the labour legislation of the two countries; in Germany in particular, various legislative provisions, beginning with the Works Constitution Act of 1952, have institutionalized the participation of workers in certain activities of their companies.

These are all factors which attest to the basic practical differences between the respective labour relations systems of the two countries, they lend full support to Charles J. Connaghan's warning to avoid succumbing to the temptation "[to transplant] the West German system in a wholesale manner to Canada."

...differences between the two countries...make it impossible to transplant formulas for co-determination

3. Co-determination would arouse great resistance in Canada. As we mentioned earlier, when co-determination in its various forms was introduced in Germany in 1951 and 1952, it was not at the request of the unions; rather, co-determination was imposed under circumstances well known to all. Moreover, the 1976 Act is, in the final analysis, merely a follow-up to decisions taken 25 years ago.

Would it be possible today to impose this type of legislation on a country that has absolutely no precedents in this field? We think not, since the possible consequences of such an action would have too great an impact on the economy of the country that might choose to follow this course. Economic consequences aside, however, what are the social benefits to be derived from such a system? In an outburst of sarcasm, Roger Decosterd of Nestlé Alimentana International asked this question: "If participation is a 'state of mind,' what purpose would be served by asking the employer to cut the ground out from under his feet?" An institution, regardless of its nature, will never function properly under a system of participation which has been imposed on it.

Quebec has nevertheless experimented with such a system, applying it to the boards of directors of certain bodies. The province has in fact passed two pieces of legislation which make it mandatory for the boards of directors of public institutions such as CEGEPs and health care institutions to include representatives elected or appointed by workers and various socio-economic groups. This idea was not without merit, and since it was aimed at public institutions, it can even be said that the objectives of encouraging people from the community to truly participate in the management of their affairs was a laudable one. However, the conditions were not right: participation was *imposed* and the results achieved did not measure up to expectations. Some boards of directors experienced periods of unprecedented difficulty. They became the battleground for epic struggles between groups representing the most divergent of interests. Some of the most dynamic and dedicated businessmen were alienated.

In point of fact, a recent research study on the CEGEPs, the Nadeau Report, drew attention to the inordinate amount of dissension generated by this new formula for the composition of boards of governors, and concluded that it would have to be reconsidered.

To reject the German form of co-determination does not necessarily imply however, that the Canadian system of labour relations is not without faults or that it is unnecessary to find formulas (developed by Canadians, if possible) that would be likely to improve its functioning. The Connaghan Report, moreover, does not reject all the mechanisms studied by the author in Germany and even admits the possibility of adapting some of them for use in Canada.

The federal minister of labour is himself actively seeking new

formulas, as indicated in the last Throne Speech as well as in his most recent statements. The country's major employer associations and union bodies frequently express their concerns in this regard. An increasing number of businessmen are also expressing their individual viewpoints on this question. Thus, the debate on possible changes to some of the features of our present system has begun in earnest.

However, it may safely be predicted that these changes will not alter the present system radically and that it will be possible to avoid at least three pitfalls, two of which were identified by the assistant secretary-general of the OECD during a seminar on worker involvement held at Versailles in June 1975. The first pitfall would be to regard participation as a labour relations technique capable of banishing, as if by the wave of a magic wand, all the tensions inherent in the very existence of different classifications and positions within a company.

The third pitfall would perhaps be to rely more on European than on American experience. It should be pointed out again that the principles underlying the entire Canadian system of labour relations are different from those underlying the systems of European countries, with the possible exception of Great Britain. Therefore, we must look more toward our neighbours to the south in seeking to spark changes in the behaviour and attitudes of Canadians.

As an illustration of this viewpoint, let us take the recent and ever-growing trend toward the acquisition of shares in a company by the workers, or the concept of the employee-shareholder. Under certain proposals now being discussed in European countries, particularly Sweden, West Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands — proposals which were recently the subject of a report by the London correspondent for the *Financial Times of Canada,* Peter Calamai, and which appear to be gaining currency — each time new shares are issued, a fixed percentage would automatically be transferred to a fund controlled by the central labour body. It is not hard to imagine the possible impact of such a plan. In fact, according to most economists, by the year 2000, or in less than 25 years, the central labour body would have effective control of the majority of large private companies.

There is no reason...that we should not develop our own variation of the employee-shareholder plan that is being increasingly implemented in the U.S.

Some would say that this plan would never be implemented. That may be so, and all the better! However, even if it were to become a reality, these same people would then say that the idea would never cross the ocean. May we simply remind such people that the idea of co-determination or self-management, which has long been in effect elsewhere, has now merrily crossed the ocean.

There is no reason, then, that we should not develop our own variation of the employee-shareholder plan that is being increasingly implemented in the United States, where it is known as ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan), even though there is very little discussion about it.

Under this plan, a company seeking financing for an investment establishes an ESOP. The latter borrows a certain amount of money, which it then uses to purchase a new issue of shares offered by the company. The loan is secured by these shares and endorsed by the company, which also undertakes to remit to the ESOP each year an amount sufficient to cover repayments on the loan. When the debt has been fully repaid, the shares are assigned to the individual accounts of the employees, for distribution upon their retirement.

This formula is not perfect and has its disadvantages. Does it not, however, have the advantage of being original and of pursuing a real objective, namely, giving workers a share in the profits of their company, without being in any way comparable to the extreme approach mentioned earlier?

In any event, we must re-examine certain features of our labour legislation. We must change some of the existing mechanisms in the field of labour-management relations or establish new ones. There is no reason why we should continue to look to the experiences of European countries when we probably have in our own backyard the nucleus of a solution which, if developed, would have the advantage of reflecting more accurately our own outlook as a nation. Our future in the complex and ever-changing field of labour relations will depend on our ability to avoid the three pitfalls described above. lg

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An economic outlook for 1977

by Frederick Stapenhurst

1976 can hardly be called a good year for the Canadian economy. The recovery which started in mid-1975 was sustained, but only at a very modest rate, and failed to become broadly-based. Unemployment rose steadily throughout the year, reaching a high of 7.6 per cent by year-end, and although the rate of inflation moderated, it still remained at an unacceptably high level.

Unless the government stimulates the economy early in the year, or President Carter stimulates the U.S. economy and the effects quickly spill over into Canada, 1977 is likely to be even worse. While growth could be moderate during the first half of the year, it is increasingly likely that the economy will lapse into another slowdown by late 1977 or early 1978. Unemployment is likely to continue to rise throughout the year, while inflation will probably decline only slightly.

The causes of this gloomy outlook are twofold: the recent pause in the U.S. recovery and associated slowdown in growth rates of most of the industrialized world, and the domestic uncertainties over the federal anti-inflation program and the recent Quebec election. The slower rates of expected growth in our major trading partners, the United States, Japan and Europe, mean that demand for our exports will not grow as fast as was originally hoped, while the anti-inflation program and uncertain political outlook for Quebec have caused a significant number of cancellations and postponements of business investment decisions, and a general dampening of consumer spending.

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In 1976, the Canadian economy grew by nearly 5 per cent below the growth rates of the U.S. and Japan (5.8 and 5.5 per cent respectively) but higher than France (3.5 per cent), Italy (1.5 per cent), and Britain (1.5 per cent). This normally would be considered a fairly good performance — but 1975 saw virtually no growth in the Canadian economy, and thus, last year's 5 per cent growth was recorded from a particularly low level. This point is well brought home when we observe that the unemployment rate rose to over 7.5 per cent in the fourth quarter — its highest level since 1939.

The only really bright side of last year's economy was the steady decline in the rate of inflation. The consumer price index rose by 7.5 per cent in 1976, compared with an 11 per cent increase in 1975, while the more broadly based GNP deflator increased by 9.5 per cent, against 10.5 per cent in 1975. However much the federal government might like to take the credit for this decline in the rate of inflation, it seems it was due primarily to international declines in inflation and declines in food prices — two areas outside the jurisdiction of AIB regulation. It may well be asked if the government's policy of fighting inflation is really what the country needs at this time — particularly given the high, and rising level of unemployment, and slack in the economy.

In 1977, real growth will be in the region of 3.5 to 4 per cent; during the first half of the year it could be at a 4 per cent rate, declining to 3 per cent or lower by year-end. Unemployment will peak at around 8.25 per cent in the fourth quarter, and average 8 per cent for the year as a whole, while the consumer price index will ease marginally to around 7 per cent.

Consumer spending accounts for nearly two thirds of total spending in the economy, and thus, is a major factor determining economic growth. Normally at the beginning of an economic upturn, consumer spending is an important impetus in the business cycle. Last year, this was certainly the case — it was almost solely the 7 per cent growth in consumer spending that accounted for the 5 per cent real growth in GNP. It seems unlikely that this early strength can be maintained. Surveys of consumer confidence and buying intentions reflect the major uncertainties most consumers feel regarding the economic outlook. Many consumers have seen their nominal wage settlements rolled back by the AIB, and although the inflation rate has also declined, they seem to be suffering from some sort of "money illusion" — their expectations for nominal wage increases have not been met, and although in *real* terms they have experienced an increase in living standards because the rate of inflation has moderated, they do not *perceive* this as so. This feeling may account for the fact that the savings rate in Canada (that proportion of income that is saved) is at an all-time high: wage earners do not feel they are

making real income gains and are saving a larger proportion of their wages to meet (expected) future economic adversity. This feeling of uncertainty is only compounded by the anti-inflation program and the recent Quebec election.

This year then, consumer spending is unlikely to grow by more than 4 per cent given disposable income gains of only 11 to 12 per cent — down sharply from the gains of 15 per cent in 1976 and 1975. It is possible, however, that should Finance Minister MacDonald provide personal income tax cuts in his May budget, or the provinces provide temporary rebates on sales tax, consumer spending, especially on "big ticket" consumer durables such as cars, refrigerators and washing machines, could be stronger than forecast, and thus provide the needed stimulus.

...it is increasingly likely that the economy will lapse into another slowdown by late 1977...

Business spending is the element which normally takes over from consumer spending to sustain economic growth in the latter periods of recovery. Businesses normally are able to increase their production during the early stages of a recovery without increasing their capacity, but as demand continues to rise, production levels reach capacity, and businesses have to invest to create more capacity in order to meet continually growing demand. It is in this area that the greatest weakness in our economy currently lies. Last year, businesses were able to increase their production without increasing their capacity, and even now, considerable excess capacity remains — largely because demand has only risen sluggishly. Moreover, most businessmen do not see a sustained recovery and therefore are unwilling to invest in additional capacity. Add to these "economic criteria" the high degree of uncertainty regarding government policy, the adverse impact of the anti-inflation program on profits, and the continuing rapid growth in unit labour costs (forecast to rise 7.5 per cent this year, down only slightly from last year's 7.75 per cent), coupled with the poor outlook for productivity (this year expected to increase only 1.75 per cent, compared with 3 per cent last year), we can easily understand the reluctance to invest.

Conference Board forecast of key provincial economic indicators

The Conference Board in Canada has forecast a significant slowdown in the overall pace of economic activity in Canada in 1977. Growth in total output, measured in real terms, is expected to decline from 5 per cent in 1976 to only 3 per cent in 1977, assuming no steps are taken by government to stimulate the economy.

Specifically, the outlook for spending on capital goods, consumer goods and housing have all been revised downward from the previous forecast published last November, and this is reflected in the projections of total output in the manufacturing and construction industries in the coming year. Since these industries play a relatively greater role in the economies of Ontario and Quebec, the outlook for growth in these provinces is considerably less favourable than it was in the fall.

Also, following a very strong performance in 1976, agricultural output is expected to decline markedly in 1977. As a result, Saskatchewan, which experienced the strongest growth in output among all provinces in 1976, is likely to turn in the weakest performance in 1977, with real output expected to show a slight decline for the year.

Alberta and British Columbia are expected to experience the strongest growth in 1977, with output in both provinces growing faster than the national average. Nevertheless output growth is still expected to be less than 5 per cent in both cases.

Both Ontario and Quebec are projected to expand at less than a 3 per cent rate in 1977, resulting in only modest employment gains and substantial increases in provincial unemployment rates.

The outlook for the Atlantic provinces is mixed. While Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should outperform the national economy, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland are expected to grow at a slightly slower pace than the 3.1 per cent projected growth in real domestic product for Canada. Real output growth in Manitoba is also expected to be slightly below the national average.

Highlights of the Conference Board's forecast of key economic indicators for each province:

Newfoundland: Among the goods-producing industries only forestry and manufacturing are likely to show improvements in 1977 with both industries turning around after declines in the previous two years. Both fishing and mining output increased at exceptionally strong rates in 1976, but this pace is not expected to be continued into the coming year. The unemployment rate is expected to climb to 14.3 per cent. Growth in retail sales should show a rate of increase in 1977 of almost 10.5 per cent.

Prince Edward Island: The service industry should show some strength

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after three consecutive weak years and construction should also be strong, in contrast to the outlook for the national economy. Output in both agriculture and fishing is expected to decline. The unemployment rate should increase only marginally in 1977 from its 1976 average rate of 10.2 per cent, while growth in retail sales is expected to decline to a rate of 9 per cent from 10.5 per cent in 1976.

Nova Scotia: Forestry and mining will support economic growth in the coming year as will the service industries. Agriculture, fishing and construction, on the other hand, are likely to be relatively weak. Employment growth is unlikely to match the increase in the labour force, implying continuing increases in the unemployment rate. The average rate in 1977 is expected to climb to 10.8 per cent. At 10 per cent, the rate of increase in retail sales should still be greater than the national average.

New Brunswick: Declines in output in the forestry, mining and construction industries in 1976 should be reversed in the coming year, with further support coming from the service industries. On the negative side, declines are expected in both agriculture and fishing. The unemployment rate remains high at more than 11 per cent. Retail sales growth in 1977 should be close to 10.5 per cent.

Quebec: The anticipated sluggish performance of Quebec's economy reflects downward revisions in the growth prospects for most industries, including forestry, mining, manufacturing, construction and services. The expected slow growth in output should result in modest employment gains of less than 1 per cent. Anticipated labour force growth of almost 2.5 per cent implies a jump in the unemployment rate from 8.7 per cent in 1976 to more than 10 per cent in 1977. In line with soft labour market conditions, personal income flows are likely to moderate and retail sales are projected to grow at less than the national rate.

Ontario: Projected growth in the output of the mining, manufacturing and service-producing industries has been revised downward from the November outlook, and the expected declines in construction and agricultural activities now appear likely to be more severe than previously anticipated. Employment growth is expected to be less than 1 per cent, but with the labour force growing at only 1.75 per cent in Ontario, the increase in the unemployment rate is likely to be less dramatic than in Quebec. An unemployment rate of almost 7 per cent is anticipated for Ontario. Retail sales growth is likely to decline as personal income flows moderate and should be close to the 8.5 per cent rate expected at the national level.

Manitoba: The goods-producing industries are generally expected to support economic growth in Manitoba in 1977, with the exception of agriculture, which will likely be the weakest sector of the economy. Employment growth is likely to remain close to the expected 2.4 per cent growth in the labour force, despite the fact that total output growth will be sluggish. The unemployment rate is likely to remain less than 5 per cent for the year. Growth in retail sales should be down somewhat from 1976, and below the national average.

Saskatchewan: The increase in real domestic product in Saskatchewan in 1976 is estimated at just under 9 per cent, the highest rate recorded by any province. Growth in total output was led by strong performances in agriculture, mining and construction. A reversal in the growth patterns expected for these industries, combined with a decline in the rate of expansion of the service-producing industries will result in a decline in total output in 1977 for Saskatchewan, and the weakest performance of all of the provinces. The unemployment rate should remain stable at the 1976 level of just more than 4 per cent. Substantially reduced personal income flows should lead to a significant cutback in the growth of retail sales from 12 per cent in 1976 to 4.5 per cent in 1977.

Alberta: The Alberta economy is expected to be the strongest in 1977 with growth in real domestic product in the range of 4.75 per cent. A decline in agricultural output will be offset by the end of the decline in resource production recorded in recent years, combined with continuing strong performances by manufacturing, construction and services. Employment growth should moderate from the 5.8 per cent increase recorded in 1976, but a similar decline in labour force growth should ensure that the unemployment rate in Alberta remains the lowest in the country at just under 4 per cent. Retail sales, are likely to continue increasing at a rate in excess of the national average.

British Columbia: Growth in real domestic product of just more than 4 per cent in 1977 will result in British Columbia turning in the second strongest performance among all Canadian provinces. Among the goods-producing industries, only construction and fishing are expected to be weak, while agriculture, mining and manufacturing will show moderate gains. Forestry will continue to perform strongly, although growth in output in this industry should decline substantially from the rate recorded in the previous year. Employment growth of 3 per cent should match gains in the size of the labour force resulting in an unemployment rate unchanged at about 8.5 per cent. Retail sales should continue their strong growth in 1977 at 11.75 per cent.

A recent survey of investment intentions indicates an encouraging 18 per cent increase over 1976; however, such surveys tend to have a large margin of error — usually on the optimistic side. This is because they only cover large corporations, which tend to invest more than smaller firms; a far more likely figure is an 8 to 10 per cent increase, which, if deflated, comes to a mere 2 per cent increase in real terms. Moreover, this modest increase in business investment is likely to continue into 1978, unless there is a fundamental shift in government economic policy.

The construction industry, which helped hold the economy up in 1975 and 1976, holds little promise for this year. An excess of finished housing units over sales has caused the rate of housing starts to decline in every quarter since the fourth quarter of 1975. This downward trend will not likely halt until mid-1977 at the earliest, and starts for the year will be in the region of 234,000 — a 12 per cent decline over last year's level of 266,000.

Given the decelerating growth rates of most of our trading partners, Canada's merchandise exports are likely to increase only 5 per cent in real terms, compared with 11 per cent in 1976. However, imports will grow less quickly than exports, reflecting the reduced economic activity in Canada and

...the savings rate in Canada is at an all-time high

consequent slacker imports of capital goods, and the higher price of imported commodities caused by the decline in the exchange rate of the Canadian dollar. Thus, the surplus should increase from about $750 million to $1.5 billion. However, the deficit on our services section of the balance of payments will increase because of the expected heavier deficit on tourism and dividend and interest payments abroad. Overall, the improved trade balance will just about be offset by the services deficit, and the total current account deficit for 1977 will likely be of roughly the same magnitude as for 1976 — $4 billion.

In many ways, the fact that 1977 is likely to be a bad year for the Canadian economy is not the underlying economic problem facing Canadians today. Rather, a number of disturbing symptoms of what might be called "the British disease" are becoming increasingly evident: uninterrupted growth in the government sector, which now accounts for more than 40 per cent of the gross national product; deterioration in labour-management relations; a deteriorating balance of payments situation, together with heavy dependence on foreign borrowings. If little or no progress is made on these fundamental problems, Canada will become yet another "sick economy of the Western World."

The Economic Council 13th annual review

The inflation dilemma

by Frederick Stapenhurst

The Economic Council's 13th Annual Review: *The Inflation Dilemma,* focuses on inflation's winners and losers. For each category of "economic agent" (households, firms and governments), the Council attempts to measure the gains and losses attributable to the effects of inflation on their expenditure, their incomes, and their net wealth. It is generally accepted that the individual will seek to protect himself against inflation by seeking income gains at least equal to the rise in living costs. The Council examines the extent to which inflation modifies behaviour, anticipations, decision-making, and the relationship existing between economic and social partners.

The Council, in fact, draws up a balance sheet showing the consequences of the changes in

Canadians as a whole have been getting richer, despite inflation

expenditure, income and net wealth on households, firms and governments, and identifies certain cross-impact influences.

Canadians as a whole have been getting richer, despite inflation. Between 1969 and 1975, the average total income of all families rose to $13,573 from $5,779, an increase of about 135 per cent; in the same period, the cost of living increased by 72 per cent. In other words, Canadians were almost two thirds better off last year than a decade earlier. However, not all groups have gained to the same

Summary of Inflation-Induced Gains and Losses to Households, Business, and Government, 1969-75

Inflation losses by:	Inflation gains by: Households	Business	Governments
Households	Debtors gained from creditors. The proportion of multi-earner families in the labour force grew, and their income increased more than single-earner families. As a result, middle-age families did better than young or old families, even though young families, more heavily in debt, were helped by inflation on both their liabilities and income. Home owners did better than renters.	Households holding short- and long-term corporate bonds, stocks, and securities lost; firms issuing liabilities gained. Pensioners lost on the eroded value of their pensions; corporate borrowers from pension plans gained. Households with cash balances and demand deposits lost to banks.	Households lost through personal income taxes that were not fully indexed; federal and provincial governments gained. Households lost on their holdings of Canada Savings Bonds and other federal, provincial, and local debt. All levels of government gained.
Business	Corporate holders of long-term household debts, such as real estate mortgages, lost; mortgagors gained.	Financial sector gained from the manufacturing and nonmanufacturing sectors through its short-term liabilities and holdings of client demand deposits. Financial sector lost to other business sectors on its holdings of their long-term securities. Corporate borrowers gained from corporate contributors to private pension funds in the amounts roughly equal to their unfunded pension liabilities.	Business lost in corporate taxes because of the required use of historical cost accounting for capital cost allowances. Business also lost in corporate taxes because of the required method of accounting for inventory valuation. In both cases, the federal and provincial governments gained. Banks lost on their holdings of federal notes and reserves; the federal government gained.
Governments	Property owners gained and local governments lost because of lags in property assessment. Indexation of personal income taxes and transfers represented a gain to households and a loss to the federal and provincial governments. Households gained in real terms through enriched or new expenditures or extra tax relief introduced as a direct result of the extra inflation-induced federal and provincial revenues.	Corporate borrowers gained from tax allowances on their debt interest payments; federal and provincial governments lost. Corporate property holders gained and local governments lost through lags in property assessment. Corporations gained in the same way as households, from extra government expenditures and subsidies resulting directly from the higher inflation-induced tax revenues.	Federal government lost to the provinces borrowing from the Canada Pension Plan. Provincial governments benefited from enlarged shares of federal-provincial transfers directly attributable to extra inflation-induced revenues. Local governments benefited from similarly enlarged provincial transfers and federal expenditures.

Source: Economic Council 13th Annual Review. Pages 148-9.

extent. "Our findings suggest that, in recent years, the poorest households have gained primarily through increased transfer income and occupational shifts, whereas higher income households have suffered because of a decline in the real value of their investment income," the Council said.

"The losers tend to be those who have little or no access to alternative income sources, who have relatively fixed incomes or normally fixed savings, such as pensions, and who have rising expenditure obligations."

The Council noted that "On the income side, demand-induced inflation results in substantial

improvement in the position of low-income working families and, in absolute terms, real income for virtually all groups within a labour force attachment." The trend toward families with both husband and wife working also increases family income.

The effect of inflation on pensioners and welfare recipients is offset to some extent by increases in transfer payments by governments. However, the income of pensioners was seriously eroded when that income was principally from fixed-income pensions — "because of the continual rise in prices, fixed-income pensions for those who retired in 1969 were worth in 1975 only two thirds of their initial buying power."

On the other hand, younger people have been ideally situated to gain from inflation. Their cash tends to be tied up in the one asset — housing — whose value has kept pace with inflation, while their liabilities have been in the form of personal debt, which declines as inflation increases. Furthermore, they are also in the best position to have more than one person in a household earning an income, and they have earned most of their income in wages — the income form that has most closely kept up with inflation.

The Economic Council goes on to speculate that the rich have "a much lower percentage of their assets...invested in housing, and a more substantial amount in such areas as securities and mortgages. In the absence of any adjustment in economic activity or any alteration of portfolios, the period of inflation would have worked to the disadvantage of high-income households." This group would have realized the lowest relative gains on income and the highest real capital losses on assets.

The Economic Council noted that the trend toward income equality which was apparent between 1951 and 1965 was reversed between 1965 and 1971. The gap started narrowing again in 1973 and 1974, but widened in 1975. The Council was unable to find the cause of this fluctuation but hypothesized that it may mean that "Canadian society is, in fact, drifting away from the objective of equitable sharing of rising incomes."

"Canadian society is...drifting away from the objective of equitable sharing of rising incomes"

The Council also found that inflation altered the income and wealth positions of businesses. In combination with traditional methods for calculating depreciation allowances (based on historical cost, rather than replacement value) and the value of inventories (based on the first-in, first-out accounting approach) inflation has resulted in an overstatement of taxable incomes; in 1974, the Council found that "this *inflationary tax* caused losses in the order of $90 million for the manufacturing sector and $135 million for the other sectors." However, the business sector gained at the expense of households, to the extent that households held their securities, while corporate borrowers gained from the government in the form of extra government expenditures and subsidies resulting from the bigger government revenues. Furthermore, the financial sector gained from non-financial sectors through its short-term liabilities and holding of client demand deposits, but lost to the non-financial sector on its holdings of their long-term securities.

Perhaps not surprisingly, it is the federal government that is the principal beneficiary of high inflation. The Council noted that "the government has gained from inflation in three ways — through the progressivity of personal income taxes, through the taxation of corporate inventory profits and by the decline in real value of its debt costs." Indeed, in 1974 alone, the government collected an extra $2.6 billion in corporate taxes entirely as a result of inflation. The same year it gained $1.6 billion in the decline of its debt.

But to draw the conclusion that federal spending is the main cause of inflation " is perhaps to misplace the true perspective," the Council said. "A generation ago, government expenditures accounted for 25 per cent of all national spending, but by 1975, this had risen to 41 per cent." In other words, while gross national expenditure in 1975 was almost five times its 1955 level, federal spending was six times higher, local government ten times higher, and provincial spending nearly 20 times higher! However, those programs which fall under provincial jurisdiction, such as health care, education and income security, and account for most of the provincial governments' increase in spending, were launched under federal government initiatives.

How one considers these "windfall revenue transfers" to the government depends largely on one's perspective of the role of government. When these transfers take place, they may ease the requirements for governments to raise the same money from other sources, but "if one regards governments as autonomous bodies in competition with, or hostile to, private spending and saving decisions, one is likely to regard their inflation-induced gains with alarm." lg

B.C. Labour Relations Board precedent

Implications of the "Day of Protest" ruling

by John Clarke

The British Columbia Labour Relations Board has set a precedent which could have far-reaching implications for the conduct of labour affairs in Canada. It rejected an application for an order prohibiting the participation of unions representing workers in the B.C. Hydro and Power Authority in the Canadian Labour Congress's October 14 general work stoppage against the federal government's anti-inflation program.

It put an end to speculation that British Columbia employers might sue their employees for breach of contract and damages for lost production. Its ruling was in direct conflict with one made by the Ontario Labour Relations Board, which said employees of Domglas Ltd. did not have the right to take part in the stoppage.

There are small but significant differences in the labour laws of the two provinces. But regardless of those differences, the B.C. board thinks it would have been wrong to "distort the general law" governing labour relations to deal with what was essentially a political protest.

In that broader sense, the B.C. decision may ultimately have more influence on the future of labour relations generally than the Ontario ruling.

The Canadian Labour Congress's Day of Protest last October 14 has slipped into history and whether it was a "day of infamy," as Canadian employers called it, or the "Glorious 14th," as labour no doubt would like to remember it, will have to be left to the historians to decide. If it was genuinely meant to force the government to end its wage and price guidelines, it was a dismal failure. If the guidelines are repealed it will be for more compelling economic reasons than the loss suffered in that one-day work stoppage, which at the very outside affected no more than a million of Canada's 10 million or so workers.

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Whatever the protest proved politically, it made one thing very clear, at least in British Columbia and three other provinces. It was not illegal.

The British Columbia Labour Relations Board ruled the Day of Protest was *not* a strike under the definition in the B.C. Labour Code, a definition repeated precisely in the Alberta, Manitoba and indeed the Nova Scotia labour legislation. Furthermore, the B.C. board said the CLC unions were acting on a fundamental right — political protest — which no government or quasi-government board could or should interfere with. If such a body interfered with the exercise of such a basic right, its usefulness in the mediation of labour disputes or in the supervision of the entire labour-management relationship would be at an end.

The implications of the decision, which is at variance with an Ontario Labour Relations Board ruling, are enormous. The board says, in effect, that labour law per se, cannot be used to prevent or end political protests.

The definition of "strike" is very explicit in the B.C. Labour Code. It is virtually the same definition that appeared in earlier B.C. law, before the New Democratic Party enacted the Code in 1973. It says a strike means "a cessation of work, or a refusal to work, or a refusal to continue to work, or an act or omission that is intended to, or does, restrict or limit production or services, by employees in combination, or in concert, or in accordance with a common understanding, for the purpose of compelling their employer to agree to terms or conditions of employment, or of compelling another employer to agree to terms or conditions of employment of his employees, and 'to strike' has a similar meaning."

In the opinion of the B.C. board, the CLC unions did not intend their protest stoppage to force employers to accept certain terms or conditions of employment. The objective was to influence the federal government to change its anti-inflation program. The stoppage had a political rather than a collective bargaining purpose.

The Canada (federal) Labour Code, Ontario, Quebec and several other provincial labour acts define a strike as concerted action by workers "designed to restrict or limit output." That may or may not have anything to do with compelling employers to agree to certain terms and conditions of employment, as required by the B.C. Code. It was that simple difference that allowed the Ontario board to declare the October 14 protest, illegal. The purpose rather than the result is the essential ingredient in the B.C. definition.

The basic problem with the definition in the Canada Labour Code and the legislation of those other provinces, says the B.C. board, is that it's too broad. It makes not only the Day of Protest illegal. It outlaws many other kinds of union action, which would not be considered a strike in the normal sense and for which there may be some "justification" in a labour relations environment. It would, for instance, catch workers who refuse to cross a picket line or who refuse to handle "hot" goods, or who refuse to work alongside non-union employees or workers not affiliated with their own organization. It would also cover employees who refuse to work overtime in order to prevent layoffs or to preserve broader work opportunities.

The B.C. board says there has to be a more flexible way of dealing with the varieties of job action by workers than is afforded by the broader definition in the Canada Labour Code and elsewhere. It says: "Jurisdictions such as Ontario, with purely objective definitions of 'strike,' have had to place a variety of artificial limits on the scope of their definitions to enable them to deal sensibly with this variety of peripheral kinds of work stoppages. The B.C. Code provides a simple and coherent

The British Columbia Labour Relations Board ruled the Day of Protest was not a strike

dividing line within the larger framework of the Code."

A strike during the term of a collective agreement between an employer and a union is still expressly forbidden in B.C. In other words, a work stoppage can't be used, while an agreement is in effect, to change the conditions under that agreement. But other work stoppages, such as the honoring of picket lines, refusal to work overtime and so on, are permitted in B.C. under certain circumstances because, the Code infers, they may be justified. In those cases, the Code hopes that flexible mediation will resolve the problems, but under the broader "objective" definition in the federal, Ontario and other provincial acts all those "justified" stoppages, as well as a political Day of Protest, would be prohibited.

The historic purpose in tying unions and employers to binding contracts is to provide both with reasonable stability and to provide a secure base for industrial activity generally. It has also been historically true that few contracts have ever been able to cover all of the possible eventualities during the periods for which they're written. The kind of flexibility provided for in the B.C. Labour Code was not always available, but it had to be concocted on the fly, so to speak, in a search for solutions that both sides could live with — without resort to the court, for instance. In the B.C. Labour Code, the "strike" definition is precisely limited as to purpose so that the flexibility elsewhere afforded to deal with a variety of problems will not be impaired. The October 14 protest did not fit that definition.

On the question of constitutional, fundamental rights, the B.C. board's ruling is quite blunt. It says: "The Day of Protest was an exercise in political free speech and association — the communication of a common, felt grievance to their elected federal government. There is some respected judicial authority, including certain decisions by the Supreme Court of Canada, to the effect that the exercise of political rights cannot constitutionally be prohibited by provincial legislation.... There is also high judicial authority that such activity should not be characterized as political free speech at all.... But in cases of constitutional doubt, the Supreme Court of Canada has suggested that general provincial legislation should be construed as not intended to intervene in such a delicate area of fundamental civil liberties and federal-provincial relations."

Whatever the constitutional niceties of the situation, however, the board believes that the use of labour law to interfere with fundamental rights would be bad policy. It says: "No one knows whether (the Day of Protest) will be repeated in the foreseeable future. At this stage, surely the wisest course is *not* to distort the general law of strikes under the (B.C.) Code to deal with what may turn out to be a once-and-for-all event. If, on the other hand, 'political strikes' were to become habit-forming, then unquestionably, Canadian legislatures, including the B.C. Legislature, would find it necessary to deal with the problems presented by this kind of trade union action and the constitutional questions would then have to be answered. When the problem is faced directly in that situation, we believe that the

legislature would recognize that it is not essentially a matter for collective bargaining law which is the concern of the Labour Code."

The board did rule that picketing associated with the October 14 demonstration would be illegal because, under the B.C. Code, such activity could only be undertaken as part of a legal strike. Since the work stoppage in B.C. was not a strike, picketing could not be allowed to enhance its effectiveness. In the board's opinion, it may be legal enough for workers, even acting in concert, to indulge in a political demonstration. But it would not be legal for those workers to try to force others to take part in the same demonstration.

In fact a number of workers did put up picket lines at B.C. Hydro Transit depots and held up public transportation in Vancouver for a short time. However, the board issued a cease-and-desist order by mid-morning that was promptly complied with.

The transit workers, represented by the Amalgamated Transit Union, had earlier voted to remain on the job in spite of the CLC's call for a total work stoppage. The pickets intended to thwart that decision and did prevent the buses running during the morning rush hour. They thus accomplished their purpose — to emphasize their power to bring a large city to a standstill. By the time the cease-and-desist order had been issued, the point had already been made and the pickets could not have cared less. It's unlikely any further legal action will be taken against them.

The broader ruling which saw nothing illegal in the stoppage itself, however, raises some fundamental issues not only on the constitutionality of democratic protest but also on the role of the trade union movement in exercising the rights referred to by the board. The obvious care with which it was written gives sharper point to the inherent questions.

Does it, for instance, give trade unions the right to demonstrate, in a directed, organized, "concerted" way, in pursuit of any political objective? Does it give the longshoremen's unions the legal authority to refuse to handle imported South African goods if their purpose is to express their abhorrence of the political system in South Africa? Would unions operating in Canada's basic resource industries, such as forestry and mining, expect to be free to organize work stoppages against certain industry practices which the unions felt were damaging to the environment? Would it be legal for trade unions to launch a general strike against labour legislation which they considered to be against their interests?

What makes a political protest by a labour organization different from an ordinary public demonstration is that it can be directed at a particular pressure point. The ultimate target of the CLC Day of Protest may have been the federal government's wage and price guidelines. But the immediate victim was industry, both private and public. The purpose was to make industry suffer enough through loss of production to put pressure on the government to remove the guidelines. In effect, the B.C. labour board's ruling says that it's all right for industry to suffer those losses because the unions weren't doing anything illegal.

The board says that if there are any more such stoppages by the CLC, governments will have to find a way, other than through labour legislation, to deal with them. But if the unions on October 14 were exercising their ordinary constitutional right to demonstrate like any other citizens, as the board says, how can any government abrogate that right for the unions without also taking it away from the ordinary citizens? And if it were taken away from the citizens, how much democracy would be left in this country? And yet, if unions as well as ordinary citizens are to continue to have the freedom to demonstrate politically, the unions could create havoc in the economy and do so at will.

The basic question is: are trade union members ordinary citizens when they're acting in conformance with plans to disrupt the country? Would they have been acting out their basic democratic right if every worker in the country had taken part in the stoppage and the stoppage had been maintained until the government withdrew the guidelines? Wouldn't that have been close enough to outright rebellion to have required a firm response from the government being threatened? Wouldn't the rule of law have been undermined, if not destroyed, if the Day of Protest had actually worked?

These questions are just as heavy for the CLC and its affiliated unions across the country as for anybody else. There was some evidence that the CLC was reluctant to launch the protest and did so only because of pressure from the lower ranks to do something about the guidelines. The B.C. labour board's decision may make it far more difficult in future for the CLC to control the more militant and revolutionary zealots in the ranks. In the end, the trade union movement is no more secure than the ordinary citizen in a country where the structure of government can so easily be threatened as Canada's was on October 14. lg

Economic Council of Canada study

Much remains to be gained by labour

by Ben Malkin

However much labour has accomplished through collective bargaining and through pressure for reform legislation, much remains to be done. Important issues such as health in the work place, pensions, non-discrimination, job security — especially in relation to technological change — and new concepts of management rights remain unresolved.

These are the conclusions drawn from a background study prepared for the Economic Council of Canada by Paul Malles. Malles was on the staff of the council when he wrote the paper, entitled *Canadian Labour Standards in Law, Agreement, and Practice*. He is now a private consultant in Ottawa.

Reduced to its simplest terms, Canadian labour history has witnessed a gradual improvement through collective bargaining for the unionized minority, and provincial and federal laws and standards for the non-unionized majority. With energies focused in the first instance on the right to organize at all, on union security (as expressed in the closed shop, the union shop, and the dues checkoff), and above all on wages and hours of work, not enough has yet been achieved in other fields. Implicit in Malles' paper is the exhortation both for unions and for governments to get cracking on them.

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Take health. Malles finds: "It is in the area of occupational health where increasing concern has to be felt. Safety laws and regulations of one kind or another referring to specific industries and occupations have, of course, existed for a long time, involving all three levels of government. In recent years they have begun to widen from purely accident prevention to encompassing more complete health protection. New regulations have been added in the recent Federal Labour Code and to the regulations of the various provinces dealing with such matters as radiation dangers, air and noise pollution, etc."

But these don't necessarily work in practice. Malles points out that "though certain disabilities caused by industrial diseases have become cause for compensation, there is growing evidence that a high proportion of occupational diseases are not recognized or reported, especially as workers themselves appear reluctant to report them out of fear of losing their jobs. There is also a growing recognition that, because some occupational diseases are not apparent before a considerable passage of time and may not be traceable to a specific job, they are not compensation cases. Moreover, while it has long been obvious that certain occupations, such as mining, expose workers to recognized health hazards, it is only more recently that attention has been drawn to the dangers inherent in broad areas of manufacturing."

Malles urges more research through federally-sponsored programs, leading to greater uniformity among the provinces, and that "workers themselves become more directly involved in occupational diseases prevention and control." He cites, as a model, the 1972 Saskatchewan Health and Safety Protection Act, which sets up an advisory council on health and safety with representation from agriculture, management, and organized labour, "as well as obligatory health and safety committees in all establishments which employ 10 or more persons."

Another gulf between theory and practice, still to be bridged, is found in the equal pay for equal work doctrine, with women the main victims. Both the unions, in their collective agreements, and governments, in their enforcement of existing law, are challenged to remove the inequity.

"Whereas equal pay for equal work appears in principle as a relatively

straightforward and simple proposition, it is notoriously difficult to define and achieve in practice.

"Pay usually is related to job classification and thus applied regardless of the individual holding the job; in other words, allegedly regardless of whether the holder is a man or a woman. If discrimination enters, it is most likely in job assignments rather than pay as such. But even so, equal pay clauses in contracts may be hedged, e.g., by stating that to obtain the same basic wage rates, a female employee has to produce equal results in quality and quantity as the average male employee, or that, if female employees are assigned to jobs previously performed by males, they shall be paid the same rate unless the job is changed."

As for equality of opportunity — that is, a higher classification, or promotion — "advance is slow if it exists at all."

To adapt the classic phrase coined by George Orwell in *Animal Farm*, all workers are equal, but some are more equal than others, with job classification the tool used to maintain an unbalanced concept of equality. And not only job classification for women. Job classification resulting from technological change, with workers being classified at a lower level and, therefore, lower pay, is another problem still unresolved.

However, there is progress, achieved through retraining programs. Malles writes: "Technological change seems no longer regarded as a major contributor to unemployment in the primary and secondary manufacturing industries, so that the interest has shifted more to the area of job classifications and wage differentials, away from the employment issue as such....

It is in the area of occupational health where increasing concern has to be felt

"The question of training and retraining is related to the issue of technological change, though by no means exclusively. As a contract subject, training and retraining in the case of technological change undoubtedly plays a larger role in some industries than in others. Corresponding clauses usually refer to a consultation process between union and management." (Malles doesn't mention it, but the current Post Office dispute indicates that the consultation process doesn't always work smoothly). "The overall coverage figure stands at about 28 per cent, but is higher than that in the auto industry (57 per cent), steel (56 per cent), mining (51 per cent), utilities (50 per cent) and the electrical industry (41 per cent)."

Despite the progress made, it's clear that "training and retraining as well as education in general are very much the concern of the large industrial unions with their preponderant membership of semi- and unskilled workers. It is also not surprising that the question of training and retraining, just as the whole area of technological change, appears as a contract issue to a higher degree in the larger, rather than the smaller, bargaining units."

As with health, discrimination, and technological change, pensions constitute another area requiring reform. With attention broadening from such issues as wages and union security to wider fields, there is hope for improvement here, too.

"It is most likely," Malles says, "that the relatively late introduction of the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans...explains the still large coverage of the labour force by private pension plans.

"If experience in other industrialized countries with universal pension plans is any guide, it is unlikely that their frequency as a fringe benefit will decline, especially as such private plans were also introduced unilaterally as one of the means by which employers try to reduce labour turnover and secure a stable and experienced workforce.

"In fact one of the criticisms which has been directed against many of the private pension plans is precisely that, in the absence of portability and in view of the limitations placed on vesting, they may constitute an impediment to labour mobility....

Malles urges more research through federally-sponsored programs

"As the unions see it, the main drawback of many private pension plans causes substantial losses in pension benefits in connection with job changes, mergers, and plant closings. The unions argue that the employer contribution constitutes part of the negotiated 'cost package' and, therefore, constitutes 'a delayed wage' which then is denied to the potential beneficiary.

"In a number of jurisdictions, moves have been made or are on the way to meet this criticism by requiring pension plans to be fully funded, locking employer-employee contributions into the

plan until retirement age and making allowance for portability from job to job."

There is little doubt that, once this is accomplished, a major reform in the important area of pensions will have been achieved. In an economy that changes as rapidly as Canada's, with so great a variety of employment conditions in this country's sprawling regions, labour mobility is an important weapon against unemployment.

Labour-management co-operation is a further area that remains to be fully explored and improved. Malles notes that "collective bargaining in Canada has as yet shown no discernible interest in such issues as: institutionalized communications between labour and management; financial and other economic information to the workforce; or participation in managerial decision-making through plant level representation bodies as an integral part of the enterprise structure — in other words, the issue of 'industrial democracy', which in recent years has played a prominent role in European industrial relations law."

Malles admits that "advisory or consultative bodies for communication between labour and management have been in existence in Canada for many years and came mainly into existence during and immediately after the Second World War." But they are largely moribund, and "their effectiveness has long been criticized by unions and management alike. One of their main weaknesses appears to have been the lack of direct union involvement or interest...".

Canadian labour, as represented by the Canadian Labour Congress, has been ambivalent on the issue. Some years ago it surveyed the European experience, and in 1972, in its "Statement on Industrial Democracy," it described as legitimate the demands to participate in the decision-making process which determines wages, working conditions, job security and income security, as well as in determining how jobs should be done.

But the CLC also cautioned against "any assessment of experiments in industrial democracy which do not take into consideration the differences between conditions in Canada and the countries concerned. While not rejecting them out of hand, Canadian labour should be wary about solutions that have been worked out under conditions which are frequently very different from our own."

As with health, discrimination, and technological change, pensions constitute another area requiring reform

Malles cogently points out that while the CLC trusts the Canadian system of collective bargaining more than any other of the solutions found in other countries, "this reflects an attitude which not long ago was also prevalent among trade unions in a number of other industrialized countries of the West."

It is worth noting, in passing, that France, despite one of the most militant labour movements in the West, is now moving toward industrial democracy.

Finally, Malles in his study argues for broader unionization of the unorganized, especially the professionals. While there has been rapid unionization in recent years among such public service professionals as teachers and paramedical workers, many professionals remain unorganized.

The self-employed compensate by forming associations and seeking job and income security by restricting their membership. Those employed are often denied the benefits of collective bargaining; that applies to many accountants, engineers, architects and the like. Malles thinks that "generally speaking, Canadian labour laws, though designed to apply in the main to the blue-collar labour force, can accommodate the large mass of white-collar workers. Where the problem arises and needs further attention is the area of specific requirements of the professional group, particularly in view of its rapid growth as an important component of the Canadian labour force."

Along with the issue of industrial democracy, here also is fresh ground for unions, management and governments to cultivate. lg

Cyclical and long-run variations in professional and public service incomes in Canada, 1950-1974

by D.A.L. Auld and E.K. Grant

The many forces that have impinged on the structure of Canadian wage and salary levels during the postwar period have resulted in changes both in absolute and relative money and real incomes. Short term fluctuations in unemployment and price are likely to affect wages and salaries in different occupations in a variety of ways. Some groups, for example, are unable to protect themselves against inflation in the short run due to the fee structure they employ or government restrictions on fee settings. Others fail to predict the rate of inflation. The construction cycle is likely to have a significant impact on professional groups such as lawyers, engineers and architects, while dentists' and doctors' incomes are insensitive to such economic forces. Public servants, especially at the federal level, may well shoulder part of the burden of the government's anti-inflation program during a period of rising prices. Long-term trends in labour organization, productivity and other factors will have a more permanent secular impact on money and real incomes, thereby affecting relative incomes (by occupation) in the country.

Most empirical studies of the variations in real incomes have concentrated on the manufacturing sector, using average hourly earnings as the basis for analysis. Although useful for the objectives they seek to achieve, such studies do not go very far in providing information on the relative income position of various professional occupations, for example doctors, lawyers and institutional groups such as public servants. In periods of inflation, especially, such information would appear to be critical since we are continually being told by one group or another that they are falling behind all other occupational groups in terms of real income.

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The following analysis is an attempt to provide on a broad basis some preliminary information on real occupational income differentials. To ensure consistency in the data, we decided to concentrate on those professions and groups that are reported in the taxation statistics of the Department of Revenue. This allows us to examine six professional occupational classifications and three classifications of public servants (by jurisdiction). Our objectives are fairly straight forward: to describe relative shifts in real income positions of the groups chosen between 1950 and 1974 and to note the sensitivity of short term fluctuations in real incomes. The taxation data groups chosen were: doctors and surgeons, lawyers and notaries, engineers and architects, dentists, accountants, teachers and professors, federal, provincial and municipal civil servants.

Engineers, architects, lawyers and notaries have experienced the most volatile year to year changes in real income

The data reported by the Department of Revenue are in terms of before-tax annual income and thus represent not only payments for factor services performed in conjunction with the occupation but income from other sources as well. However, because we are using the average of a large random sample in a professional classification, we minimize the possibility of biasing the sample with a large number of persons whose income is derived from sources outside their professional services. We must point out that the public service group is not an occupational group since any jurisdictional collection of public servants is a very heterogeneous mix of occupations ranging from file clerk to doctor, all in the employ of a government. We chose to include this group largely because of the very substantial

TABLE 1

Annual percentage change in real income by occupational industrial group

Year	Doctors Surgeons	Lawyers Notaries	Engineers Architects	Dentists	Account-ants	Teachers Professors	Public Service (Fed.)	Public Service (Prov.)	Public Service (Local)	Manufac-turing Sector
1950										
1	−8.6	−4.1	−20.4	−8.2		−2.8	0.2	−2.7	−1.4	1.1
2	2.9	−11.9	+24.3	+10.4	−4.2	4.0	2.6	3.5	3.7	7.3
3	7.9	8.9	−15.4	6.4	1.8	5.4	1.6	4.4	3.2	4.8
4	4.7	19.1	+16.5	4.8	6.5	2.8	6.0	0.7	2.8	1.0
1955	2.1	2.4	+15.9	8.1	7.1	3.8	0.7	3.6	1.5	3.7
6	5.7	1.6	−4.1	6.3	5.2	1.4	2.9	2.5	2.1	3.4
7	3.6	1.7	3.6	7.4	6.0	2.5	3.2	2.2	1.2	1.3
8	6.3	−0.2	−4.6	1.5	−4.6	4.4	3.6	2.0	3.3	0.0
9	1.9	3.4	3.9	7.6	2.7	2.2	0.7	1.5	3.7	3.8
1960	2.3	2.0	3.4	4.2	2.4	7.4	4.0	3.2	2.5	1.8
1	3.0	+6.3	−7.2	−0.2	0.2	1.7	5.1	3.0	0.8	2.6
2	5.4	−3.3	−2.2	10.0	−4.8	0.4	0.2	3.7	2.6	1.6
3	5.2	4.1	1.2	−2.0	−3.4	3.5	6.3	1.3	1.5	2.5
4	8.5	4.3	10.1	7.1	16.3	2.2	−0.5	1.4	1.6	2.8
1965	5.5	8.3	11.9	2.7	0.8	3.5	2.4	4.3	1.7	3.0
6	3.6	4.7	5.7	5.6	−0.1	2.5	5.8	1.7	0.8	2.2
7	5.6	1.0	0.0	2.5	+0.2	5.2	0.4	2.5	3.6	1.9
8	2.4	2.9	−1.5	5.9	12.4	4.6	6.0	5.1	3.0	3.2
9	6.0	5.0	−4.5	3.4	1.6	4.4	7.8	3.0	3.3	2.5
1970	6.1	2.0	−2.2	3.3	5.6	9.1	6.3	7.8	6.5	4.1
1	11.2	1.8	−5.5	10.7	−5.8	7.2	4.0	6.0	5.9	6.4
2	−0.1	5.3	+12.8	5.3	4.2	4.0	2.8	4.4	4.5	4.3
3	−2.6	12.3	+24.4	3.2	25.2	4.6	2.5	3.7	2.7	1.1
4	−5.6	5.6	−8.6	3.1	2.9	3.6	2.7	4.0	4.2	0.8
Average Annual Change	3.5	3.5	2.4	4.5	3.4	3.6	3.2	3.0	2.7	2.8

Source: Dept. of Revenue: *Taxation Statistics;* Statistics Canada, *Canadian Statistical Review.*

rise in public expenditure over this period and the resulting influence on the economy of wages and salaries in the public sector.

To obtain the average real income and annual percentage change, money incomes for each professional group were deflated by a consumer price index with 1950 = 100. As a benchmark for comparative purposes, the annual change in real wage income in manufacturing was also estimated — by multiplying average hours worked per employee in manufacturing by the average wage in manufacturing on an annual basis. These percentage changes are recorded in Table 1. The first noticeable feature is the variance in annual percentage change across these occupational groups. Engineers, architects, lawyers and notaries have experienced the most volatile year to year changes in real income. Accountants are next, followed by doctors and dentists. In the least volatile group are the public servants, teachers and professors and employees in manufacturing. Although the manufacturing sector is somewhat sensitive to the business cycle, a decline in employment is not likely to result in a fall in real income, only a slowdown in its rate of growth as average hours worked decline slightly. Since there are sufficient labour groups in the manufacturing sector on short contracts, employees here are able

TABLE 2

Average real income of occupation/industrial group in the column divided by same in row: selected years.

		Doctors Surgeons	Lawyers Notaries	Engineers Architects	Dentists	Account-ants	Teachers Professors	Public Service (Fed.)	Public Service (Prov.)	Public Service (Local)	Manufac-turing
DOCTORS/	1950	1.00	.98	1.10	.62	*	.27	.26	.27	.26	.22
SURGEONS	1964	1.00	.80	.78	.69	.61	.24	.23	.22	.21	.20
	1974	1.00	.95	.76	.79	.68	.28	.24	.23	.23	.19
LAWYERS/	1950	1.02	1.00	1.14	.64	*	.27	.28	.28	.27	.23
NOTARIES	1964	1.25	1.00	.97	.86	.75	.29	.28	.27	.28	.25
	1974	1.05	1.00	.79	.83	.71	.29	.25	.24	.24	.20
ENGINEERS	1950	.91	.87	1.00	.57	*	.24	.24	.25	.24	.21
ARCHITECTS	1964	1.28	1.03	1.00	.89	.77	.30	.29	.28	.27	.26
	1974	1.31	1.26	1.00	1.04	.90	.36	.32	.31	.30	.25
DENTISTS	1950	1.61	1.56	1.75	1.00	*	.43	.42	.44	.42	.37
	1964	1.45	1.16	1.12	1.00	.87	.34	.33	.32	.31	.29
	1974	1.26	1.20	.96	1.00	.86	.35	.31	.30	.29	.24
ACCOUNTANTS	1950	*	*	*	*	1.00	*	*	*	*	*
	1964	1.64	1.33	1.29	1.14	1.00	.39	.37	.36	.35	.33
	1974	1.47	1.41	1.11	1.16	1.00	.40	.36	.34	.33	.28
TEACHERS/	1950	3.70	3.70	4.17	2.32	*	1.00	.99	1.02	.98	.86
PROFESSORS	1964	4.17	3.45	3.33	2.94	2.56	1.00	.96	.93	.91	.85
	1974	3.57	3.45	2.78	2.85	2.50	1.00	.88	.85	.82	.70
FEDERAL	1950	3.84	3.57	4.17	2.38	*	1.01	1.00	1.04	1.00	.87
PUBLIC	1964	4.34	3.57	3.45	3.00	2.70	1.04	1.00	.97	.95	.89
SERVANTS	1974	4.17	4.00	3.12	3.22	2.78	1.14	1.00	.96	.93	.79
PROVINCIAL	1950	3.70	3.57	4.00	2.27	*	.98	.96	1.00	.96	.88
PUBLIC	1964	4.54	3.70	3.57	3.12	2.77	1.07	1.06	1.00	.97	.93
SERVANTS	1974	4.34	4.16	3.22	3.33	2.95	1.18	1.08	1.00	.96	.82
LOCAL	1950	3.84	3.70	4.16	2.38	*	1.02	1.00	1.04	1.00	.84
PUBLIC	1964	4.76	3.57	3.70	3.22	2.86	1.09	1.05	1.06	1.00	.91
SERVANTS	1974	4.34	4.22	3.33	3.44	3.00	1.22	1.07	1.04	1.00	.85
MANUFACTURING	1950	4.54	4.34	4.76	2.70	*	1.16	1.15	1.13	1.19	1.00
	1964	5.00	4.00	3.84	3.44	3.03	1.18	1.12	1.07	1.09	1.00
	1974	5.26	5.00	4.00	4.17	3.51	1.42	1.26	1.22	1.18	1.00

to react to an increase in the rate of inflation more rapidly than others.

The second feature is the variance across groups in the average annual rate of income in real terms. Dentists head the list (4.5 per cent) followed by teachers and professors (3.6 per cent), lawyers and doctors (3.5 per cent). Close behind are accountants (3.4 per cent) and federal civil servants (3.2 per cent), then provincial civil servants (3.0 per cent). Employees in manufacturing experience a 2.8 per cent average annual increase while engineers/architects and local public servants were the lowest at 2.4 and 2.7 per cent respectively.

The second stage of the analysis was to examine the sensitivity of changes in real incomes to various phases of the business cycle. We have already pointed out that the business cycle is likely to affect various groups in different ways as far as changes in real incomes are concerned. Although one might quarrel about what reference points to use in delineating the business cycle, annual observations on the unemployment rate and rate of change in prices

suggests the following divisions: 1950 — recession; 1951-2 — inflation; 1956-58 — inflation; 1958-62 — recession; 1965-69 — inflation; 1970-71 — recession and mild inflation; 1972-74 — inflation and recession.

During the two-year period 1951-52, lawyers and doctors experienced a decline in real income while employees in the manufacturing sector recorded an 8.4 per cent increase in real earnings.

Teachers, professors and public servants all experienced real income increases to varying degrees. This pattern is what one might expect given the relative inflexibility of certain professional groups to alter fee structures compared to those covered by short (one-year) contracts. Doctors and lawyers made up their losses the next two years with real income increases of 12.6 and 28 per cent respectively. It suggests that there was a strong 'reaction' to the rates of inflation in professional associations such as the Canadian Medical Association and Canadian Bar Association. Part of the increase in lawyers' incomes in 1954 can be explained by the rapid increase in construction activity in 1953 as indicated by a 30 per cent rise in housing investment.

In contrast to the earlier period of inflation, doctors, accountants, and dentists achieved significant gains in real income in 1956-57. Public service and teachers/professors' incomes increased in real terms but at a rate below the long-run average.

In the four-year period of economic slowdown 1958-62, all groups except provincial civil servants and dentists, experienced annual increases (on average) in real income below their long-run average increase. Dentists' income rose 10 per cent in 1962 after a small decline the previous year. Engineers and architects suffered a 2 per cent decline in real income over the period. The latter clearly reflects the fact that between 1958 and 1961, private investment declined by approximately 9 per cent as indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Annual percentage change in private fixed capital formation 1950-1974.

YEAR	% CHANGE	YEAR	% CHANGE
1950	+12.0	1963	+ 8.4
1951	+13.3	1964	+21.8
1952	+14.1	1965	+16.9
1953	+14.7	1966	+16.6
1954	− 2.2	1967	+ 1.2
1955	+13.1	1968	+ 1.5
1956	+25.2	1969	+10.2
1957	+ 7.4	1970	+ 4.7
1958	− 3.0	1971	+12.1
1959	+ 0.1	1972	+11.2
1960	− 3.2	1973	+22.2
1961	− 2.8	1974	+21.5
1962	+ 3.9		

Source: Department of Finance, *Economic Review*, April 1976.

Five groups, doctors, lawyers, teachers/professors, federal civil servants and provincial civil servants did better than average during the 1965-69 period.

Engineers/architects experienced the greatest volatility in real income with substantial increases in 1965-68 and absolute declines in the next three years, reflecting the dramatic year to year changes in private investment shown in Table 3.

With the exception of lawyers, engineers/architects and accountants, all groups experienced above-average increases in real incomes in 1970-71. This was especially true for doctors, dentists, teachers/professors and federal civil servants. In the case of federal civil servants, teachers and professors, this rapid increase in average income would appear to be partly induced by the rapid expansion in the growth of employment in these areas.

During the 1972-74 period, we find considerable volatility in real incomes. Doctors experience three consecutive years of an absolute decline in real income. This clearly reflects the impact of government policy to restrain expenditures on health by either preventing doctors from raising their fees or limiting

them to modest increases. Engineers/architects in 1973 experienced a 24 per cent rise in real income as did accountants, the former increase reflecting the substantial increases in private fixed capital formation in 1972-73.

It is almost impossible from this visual inspection to detect any strong trends with respect to real income changes over the business cycle, and any correlation between group performance. Obviously, engineers' and architects' income is sensitive to the building cycle, which is reflected in the periods of general economic expansion and inflation. Not so noticeable but nevertheless evident is similar behavior in the case of lawyers' incomes. There is some evidence that the growth of real income in the public service sector slows during periods of inflation but there are exceptions over the 1950-1974 period. This would suggest that governments (especially the federal government) may have tried to hold down wages and salaries in periods of inflation but were not always successful. A clear pattern of behavior and coincidence of income changes will have to await a thorough statistical analysis. Although periods of inflation and recession may well have an impact on the incomes of various professional groups through the business cycle's impact on the demand for labour, they tell us little about the supply effect.

Although the average percentage changes in real incomes indicate what occupational group has 'gone ahead' over the 1950-74 period, the matrix shown as Table 2 records each occupation's real income relative to all others for three years 1950, 1964 and 1974. There is a great deal of discussion that can be generated from a table such as this. Only a few comments will be made here to highlight the more significant changes. The position of engineers and architects has deteriorated compared with all other groups. The position of dentists has improved compared with all groups over the period although there were years where they 'temporarily' fell behind one group or another (e.g. teachers in 1964). The position of public servants, in general, has deteriorated compared with teachers/professors, accountants, dentists, and lawyers while against the remaining groups it has either improved or shown no discernible trend. Again, we must emphasize the heterogeneous nature of the composition of occupations in the civil service.

As we noted earlier, this report is highly descriptive and detailed analysis will have to await rigorous statistical testing. The results nevertheless, would appear to be interesting if only at this stage as a contribution to the debate on changes in relative incomes in Canada. lg

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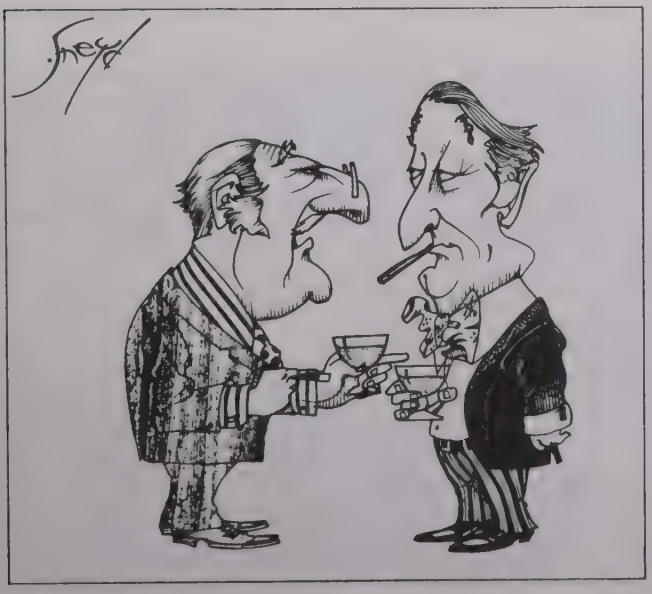

"Hello, Wadsworth! Read any good tax loopholes lately?"

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comment

Genuine participation in the United States

The West German model of worker participation may be good for Germany, but it should have no role in the U.S., where employees, to an enormous degree and in a genuine sense, participate through their unions in decision-making affecting them. Those who would generalize from the German system would do well to reserve their judgment for a few years in order to see how the new rules providing for greater employee and union representation work in practice, and whether a new generation will heed the lessons of inflation and war. They might also carefully study the coal, iron, and steel experience and that of Volkswagen.

Participation in the United States actually is widespread in areas in which it is most meaningful. Under law and practice, companies must bargain over "terms and conditions of-employment," and this phrase has been most generously interpreted by the National Labor Relations Board and the courts. Thus, besides wages and fringe benefits, the employer must discuss and bargain about such matters as hours of work, compensation, layoff and rehiring procedures, premium pay for overtime, supervisors' rights to do journeyman work, contracting out work, automation, plant relocation, partial and complete plant closings, and a host of other matters. In addition, if disputes regarding these or other matters arise during the life of the labour agreement, the issue is generally settled by binding, third-party arbitration.

New products or processes usually involve new methods of work. Their success can be assured or thwarted by the degree of union co-operation in their installation and manufacture. The point is, of course, that the union, and employees through the union do indeed participate in such decisions, or in some cases even have a veto over whether matters go forward. Moreover, they participate where it counts — on the shop floor or in the negotiation process which continues throughout the life of the contract. Collective bargaining may be national, regional or local, but in any case, much is left to local union-management determination.

Nor is this all. Like management, unions also seek special legislative favours in order to bolster companies' abilities to pay higher wages. Unions have, and are, energetically lobbying for tariffs and quotas, usually in co-operation with management. They promote products through advertising, or use of the union label and they influence the demand or supply of products in numerous ways. To the employee, however, participation on the shop floor remains the most significant. This affords him protection against arbitrary action by his supervisors, and sees to it that all matters of grave importance to his future are co-determined.

United States workers, accustomed to the co-determination of what is important to them, are likely to find European-type participation not to their liking.

from *Evening Standard*, London, England

'You may have got a seat on the board mate — but not my one!'

The six U.S. automobile workers who were sent to Sweden by the Ford Foundation undoubtedly reacted like most other United States workers would. An article in *The Monthly Labor Review* (September 1975), published by the U.S. labor department, reported:

The Americans' reaction to the worker participation schemes was indifferent or negative. They observed that the works council meeting seemed more like a mixture of shareholders and general sales meeting, and that the members of the works council did not seem to be a representative sample of workers throughout the plant. The production and development group meetings seemed an adjunct of the works council meeting. There were discussions of problems, with little attention directed to possible solutions. In general, all six workers viewed the production and development groups as inadequate in handling disputes at the workplace.

The official union position in the United States is no different. Despite a tongue-in-cheek suggestion at Chrysler, which excited some *New York Times* reporters, the United Automobile Workers aimed directly at the pocketbook, rather than detouring toward the board of directors in the recent labour negotiations. AFL-CIO president, George Meany's executive assistant, Thomas R. Donahue, summed it all up by declaring: "We do not want to blur in any way the distinctions between the respective roles of management and labour in the plant." Unions, he noted, "currently bargain on more issues than the number we might have any impact on as members of a board of directors." [LG, Aug. '76]

Alfred L. Thimm's careful study of Volkswagen, published in the *Columbia Journal of World Business,* Spring 1976, is revealing. Volkswagen is 40 per cent owned by the German Federal Republic and the State of Lower Saxony. Alone among major German industries, it bargains directly with I.G. Metall, largest and strongest of German unions. On its supervisory board sit representatives of these governments, the president of I.G. Metall, plus employee directors. Private shareholders have only a minority representation. A review of Volkswagen's supervisory board decisions, including the long fight over a United States plant, show a costly political tug of war, as economic decisions were vetoed or modified by union-political control. The whole story is a somber one in terms of economic efficiency and social well-being; yet it is a likely preview of the future if we march to the tune of the European-model participation siren.

Herbert R. Northrup
Professor of industry and director of the Industrial Research Unit at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

The foregoing was condensed from an address to the Personnel Association of Toronto, December 1976.

Public service case prompts comment

Among the [October] News Briefs was an item: "Public servant wins case against federal government." The public servant was identified as "Robert Delanoy, an employee of the department of national defence in Calgary." The only thing wrong with that statement is that Mr. Delanoy is employed in the Department of National Revenue (Taxation).

The article ended by saying that 25 other appeals of the same nature had been referred to the court. I can tell you that the court set aside all of these appeal decisions and soon after that, all the appeals were allowed. However, it took over two months of prodding by the Alliance before the Public Service Commission obeyed its own law and revoked the appointments which had been unlawfully made.

W. Hewitt-White
Director, Appeals and Grievances Branch
Public Service Alliance of Canada, Ottawa

Books

An Illustrated History of Canadian Labour 1800 - 1974

by **Edward E. Seymour**, Canadian Labour Congress, 1976.

Readers who like their history written coolly and objectively in academic prose will be disappointed by *An Illustrated History of Canadian Labour*. This work is written with heart.

Since 1970, Ed Seymour has been Canadian education and publicity director for the Textile Workers Union of America, which merged in June with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

He has written labour history as he sees it and is frank about his objective — to "examine the development of working peoples' organizations against the background of confrontations between workers' aspirations and the equally determined efforts of management to maintain the status quo."

To him "the advances made on the economic and social fronts by labour people are never attained without some form of confrontation, and any attempt to portray labour's story without recognition of this fact is to ignore recorded history."

But historians, "with a few notable exceptions," have "neglected to make any honest effort to record labour's history."

From that point of view, Seymour presents a relatively short, highly readable history of the major historical developments affecting working people and their organizations in Canada during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The facts he does present are accurate according to the criteria of time, place, dates and numbers, and he is also quite honest about his major omission — the internal union struggles that occurred throughout the years. His reason? "This writer felt the real struggle was fought by unions against government and industry. This struggle is a continuing one."

All the other major developments one would expect to find recorded in a brief history of labour are there: the early struggles for union recognition, the Trades Union Act, the Canadian Labour Union's inaugural convention, the story of the Knights of Labour, the founding of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the Canada Department of Labour, the Canadian Congress of Labour, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the New Democratic Party, as well as the Winnipeg general strike and the other major strikes of the 20th century.

Almost every one of the well presented 92 pages contains one or more historical photos — many of them previously unpublished.

If emotion runs through the text, it comes across even more strongly in the illustrations. For example — 25 carloads of armed volunteers ready to go into action against the Winnipeg general strikers; women preparing relief bundles for Cape Breton coal miners during their 1925 strike against British Empire and Steel Company; Depression hunger marchers on their way from Vancouver to Ottawa — they never made it — carrying a sign: "We want to be citizens not transients"; a dramatic photo of the late Claude Jodoin, first president of the Canadian Labour Congress, confronting Quebec Provincial Police during the 1957 strike at Gaspé Copper Company in Murdochville; and a photo taken just after Premier Mitchell Hepburn described the 1937 General Motors strikers at Oshawa as alien invaders of Canada: a long row of strikers wearing the medals they had won for valour as members of Canada's armed forces during the First World War.

Seymour says that what little is taught about unions in Canadian schools "is so viciously anti-labour that it is not surprising that an anti-labour bias exists in our society."

This is the third labour history by a trade unionist published in as many years. Seymour's history deserves a place alongside Morden Lazarus' *Years of Hard Labour* [Books, Oct. '75] and Jack Williams' *The Story of Unions in Canada* [Books, Jan. '76].

And if many readers find Seymour's history the most upsetting of the three, it may be because Seymour is right about the anti-labour bias in Canadian society.

—Roy LaBerge

Roy LaBerge is a social science teacher, at Algonquin College, Ottawa, a journalist and former editor of Canadian Labour.

Help for the Working Wounded

by **Thomas F. Mancuso**
Published by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, 1976, 221 pp.

The author of this book, a physician and professor of occupational health at the University of Pittsburg, has had a long career in industrial medicine and has served on numerous U.S. government agencies and is a medical consultant to the Machinists Union.

Traditionally, workers have been dependent upon employers and governments in matters regarding occupational health. This dependency has resulted in numerous unnecessary diseases and deaths. Mancuso is one of several professionals providing a badly needed alternate source of occupational health data.

This book is intended to provide accurate, practical information to the average worker. Indeed, much of it is in the form of concise responses to letters written by concerned workers. Many first appeared in the 1974-1975 editions of the union's journal, *The Machinist.* There are four main sections in the book. The opening section is called "Recognizing an Occupational Illness" and contains exchanges such as the following:

Q. "I have been an auto mechanic for 40 years. I have worked in poorly ventilated shops all this time. I have also breathed brake dust from many thousands of brake jobs. I have bad legs, back, and no wind. I don't smoke cigarettes. I do smoke cigars. Is there any state compensation?

A. In brake lining dust you would have been exposed to asbestos dust that lines the brakes. Asbestos produces a fibrosis of the lungs called asbestosis and asbestosis causes emphysema. Now, if your chest x-rays show evidence of asbestosis, or some stage of asbestosis, then you would have the basis for an occupational disease compensation claim..."

In similar types of exchanges workers are constantly alerted to possible health hazards.

The next section discusses the question, "Occupational Exposure: How Much Is Enough?" Its purpose is to "Help you understand the significance of the air contaminant standard...to tell you what air sampling and testing is all about — how results are interpreted and evaluated, what the concentration levels mean; how air samples and tests identify the nature and extent of the health risks on the job and how they affect your compensation claim." A reprint of O.S.H.A. air contaminant standards is also included.

A section on control measures follows, outlining, in detail, means of air contaminant control such as ventilation. Elimination of the contaminant source is judged the most desirable method, while individual worker protection the least. Owing to differences between U.S. and Canadian laws, the final section on worker's compensation is not very useful to Canadians.

Overall, Mancuso succeeds in providing occupational health information to workers in a language they can understand.

One disappointing feature of the book, however, is its apolitical nature. For example, the author states, without further explanation, that the purpose of present legislated standards is to "protect your health by specifying the limits of exposure to these toxic substances during the course of your employment." Unfortunately, the process of standard-setting is not simply a scientific exercise.

Many standards were and are inadequate by objective criteria. Morton Corn, head of O.S.H.A. recently noted the "consensus standards include many regulations which appear to have marginal, if any, effect on eliminating potential hazards in the work place." The requirement that O.S.H.A. submit Inflationary Impact Statements on proposed regulations also reduces the likelihood that standards will be based solely on medical-scientific criteria.

In reality, the unions, backed by scientific research, demand the safest possible standards. Companies, also backed by scientific research, insist on the cheapest possible standards. The legislation finally enacted is determined as much by political forces as by scientific data. In this sense, Patrick Kinnersly's book, *The Hazards of Work,* is more useful. Nevertheless, Mancuso's guide is extremely valuable. It should be read by Canadian workers.

—Ray Sentes

Ray Sentes is research director of the International Insulators and Asbestos Workers, Local 126 in Calgary

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PRICES, EMPLOYMENT, AND EARNINGS

Consumer, November, 1976

The all-items Consumer Price Index for Canada (1971 = 100) increased 0.3 per cent to 152.2 in November from 151.7 in October, and was 5.6 per cent above its level of a year ago. The latest increase was again due to a decline in the food index, the most recent decrease being 0.2 per cent. Higher charges for transportation and shelter were mainly responsible for the all-items increase of 0.3 per cent as well as for the 0.5 per cent rise in the index excluding food. Lower pork prices, 9 per cent, on average, below the index for the previous month, as well as lower prices for fresh fruit, were largely responsible for the 0.2 per cent decrease in the food index. Higher prices for fresh vegetables, fresh milk, soft drinks consumed at home and restaurant meals, partially offset these decreases. In November 1976, the index for food consumed at home was 3.3 per cent below its level of November 1975.

Increased shelter charges for both owned and rented accommodation, as well as higher prices in the transportation component, accounted for much of the 0.5 per cent increase. Part of these increases was because of higher premiums for both dwelling and automobile insurance. Important price increases were also registered for automobile repairs and for barbering and hairdressing services. The 1.2 per cent rise in the transportation component also reflected new car retail purchase prices.

In terms of goods and services, the price level of goods, including food, increased 0.1 per cent in the latest month while that for services increased 0.7 per cent. Seasonally adjusted, the all-items CPI advanced 0.3 per cent. This included a 0.1 per cent increase in the food index to a 0.4 per cent increase in the index for all items excluding food.

City Consumer, November 1976

Consumer price indexes rose in 12 regional cities, and declined in Vancouver and Thunder Bay. Movements ranged from a decrease of 0.2 per cent in Vancouver to an increase of 0.9 per cent in Edmonton. Increases in shelter charges, new car prices and higher automobile insurance and repair charges were mainly responsible for the increase. Other contributing factors included higher prices for selected clothing items and for barber and hairdresser services. Prices for food consumed at home generally declined, especially those for pork and fresh fruit.

Percentage increases listed in 12 regional cities were: 0.2 in Toronto and Winnipeg; 0.3 in St. John's and Halifax; 0.4 in Calgary; 0.5 in Ottawa; 0.6 in Saint John, Saskatoon and Regina; 0.7 in Montreal; 0.8 in Quebec; 0.9 in Edmonton. Percentage decreases were: 0.1 in Thunder Bay; and 0.2 in Vancouver.

Employment, November, 1976

Without seasonal adjustment, the employment level in November was 9,592,000, compared with 9,663,000 in October and 9,471,000 in November a year ago. There was an increase in employment for men 25 years of age and over, but decreases for men 15 to 25 and for women in both categories.

Unemployment, November, 1976

Seasonally adjusted, the unemployment rate in November was 7.3 per cent compared with 7.6 per cent in October and 7.0 per cent in November 1975. Without seasonal adjustment, there were 708,000 persons unemployed for an unemployment rate of 6.9 per cent, compared with 679,000 unemployed for a rate of 6.6 per cent in October. In November 1975 there were 686,000 unemployed for a rate of 6.8 per cent. There was a decline in unemployment for men and women 25 years of age and over, but an increase for men and women in the younger age category.

The seasonally adjusted unemployment rates for the provinces, with October rates in parentheses, were: Newfoundland 14.8 per cent (13.9); Prince Edward Island 10.1 per cent (11.7); Nova Scotia 11.2 per cent (10.9); New Brunswick 11.0 per cent (11.8); Quebec 9.8 per cent (10.1); Ontario 6.2 per cent (6.3); Manitoba 4.6 per cent (4.9); Saskatchewan 3.4 per cent (4.2); Alberta 3.5 per cent (3.7); British Columbia 7.3 per cent (7.3).

Earnings, October

Average weekly earnings in Canadian industry were $234.27 in October, an increase of 10.0 per cent from $212.90 a year ago. Provincially, average weekly earnings, unadjusted, were highest in British Columbia, $267.06; Alberta, $245.92; Ontario, $235.29; Newfoundland, $228.98; Quebec, $226.41; Saskatchewan, $221.83; Manitoba, $216.01; New Brunswick, $207.86; Nova Scotia, $198.82; and

Prince Edward Island, $175.89. Average weekly earnings in October, by industry division, were: construction, $342.70; mining, $326.15; forestry, $301.13; transportation, communications and other utilities, $269.62; manufacturing, $247.58; finance, insurance and real estate, $215.29; trade, $181.22; and service, $162.63. Compared with October a year ago, average hourly earnings increased 13.2 per cent in manufacturing, 11.2 per cent in mining and 10.8 per cent in construction.

General minimum rates for experienced adult workers

Jurisdiction	Rates per hour
Federal	$2.90 effective April 1, 1976
Alberta	$2.75 effective March 1, 1976
British Columbia	$3.00 effective June 1, 1976
Manitoba	$2.95 effective September 1, 1976
New Brunswick	$2.80 effective November 1, 1976
Newfoundland	$2.50 effective January 1, 1976
Nova Scotia	$2.75 effective January 1, 1977
Ontario	$2.65 effective March 15, 1976
Prince Edward Island	$2.50 effective July 1, 1976 $2.70 effective July 1, 1977
Québec	$3.00 effective January 1, 1977
Saskatchewan	$3.00 effective January 1, 1977
Northwest Territories	$3.00 effective June 7, 1976
Yukon Territory*	$3.00 effective April 1, 1976

*Federal rate plus 10 cents.

Minimum wage rates for young workers and students*

Jurisdiction	Rates per hour	Effective date
Federal	Employees under 17: $2.65	April 1, 1976
Alberta	Employees under 18: $2.60	March 1, 1976
	Students under 18 employed part-time: $2.25	March 1, 1976
British Columbia	Employees 17 and under: $2.60	June 1, 1976
Manitoba	Employees under 18: $2.70	September 1, 1976
Nova Scotia	Underage employees: 14 to 18 years $2.50	January 1, 1977
Ontario	Students under 18 employed for not more than 28 hours in a week or during a school holiday: $2.15	March 15, 1976
Prince Edward Island	Employees under 18: $2.20 $2.35	July 1, 1976 July 1, 1977
Québec	Employees under 18: $2.80	January 1, 1977
Northwest Territories	Employees under 17: $2.55	June 7, 1976

*New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Saskatchewan and Yukon Territory have no special rates for young workers or students.

Additions to the Library

LIST NO. 332

The publications listed below are recent acquisitions. They may be borrowed through a local library (business, university, public, etc.) or directly — if there is no local library — by writing to The Chief Librarian, Labour Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0J2, indicating the publication numeral and the month.

BIOGRAPHIES

1. Hoffa, James Riddle. Hoffa: the real story, by James R. Hoffa as told to Oscar Fraley. New York, Stein and Day, 1975. 242p.

2. Moggridge, Donald Edward. Keynes. London, Macmillan Press, by agreement with Fontana Books, 1976. 189p.

CIVIL RIGHTS

3. Canada. Department of Labour. Legislative Research Branch. Human rights in Canada. 1975. Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1976. 1v. Titre en français: Les droits de l'homme au Canada.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

4. Garfin, Molly. Collective bargaining in higher education, 1975. Compiled by Molly Garfin with the assistance of Daniel J. Julius and Joseph M. Egar. New York, National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education, Baruch College, CUNY, 1976. 231p.

COMMERCIAL POLICY

5. Conference Board. Canadian Office. Canada's international trade: trends and prospects, by Charles A. Barrett. Ottawa, 1976. 55p.

CORPORATIONS

6. Conference Board. Corporate philanthropic public service activities, by James F. Harris and Anne Klepper. New York, 1976. 61p.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

7. Affirmative action: the answer to discrimination? an AEI round table held on May 28, 1975 at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Ralph K. Winter, Jr., Moderator. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1976. 40p.

8. Equal employment opportunity: the second decade. John J. Ross, chairman. New York, Practising Law Institute, 1975. 392p.

9. U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Aging. Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment. Age and sex discrimination in employment, and review of federal response to employment needs of the elderly: hearing...Ninety-fourth Congress, first session, December 10, 1975. Washington, G.P.O., 1976. 66p.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

10. Denison, Edward Tulton. How Japan's economy grew so fast; the sources of post-war expansion, by Edward F. Denison and William K. Chung. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1976. 267p.

11. Raynauld, André. Economics and political reality: address delivered before the Canadian Association of The Club of Rome. Ottawa, 1976. 16p.

ENERGY

12. Gordon, Richard L. Coal and Canada-U.S. energy relations. Montreal, Canadian-American Committee, 1976. 75p.

FAIR WAGES

13. Hyman, Richard. Social values and industrial relations; a study of fairness and equality, by Richard Hyman and Ian Brough. Oxford, Blackwell, 1975. 277p.

FAMILY

14. Woolf, Myra. Families five years on, by Myra Woolf and Sue Pegden. London, H.M.S.O., 1976. 188p.

HOURS OF LABOUR

15. Côté, Louise H. L'horaire variable au Québec: rapport d'enquête, par Louise H. Côté et Normande Lewis avec la collaboration de R. Boulard et B. Turgeon. Québec, Ministère du travail et de la main-d'oeuvre, Direction générale de la recherche, 1976. 207p.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES — HISTORY

16. Noel, Gerard. The great lockout of 1926. London, Constable, 1976. 239p.

17. Snyder, David Richard. Determinants of industrial conflict: historical models of strikes in France, Italy, and the United States. Ann Arbor, Mich., Xerox University Microfilms, 1976. 376p.

18. Trory, Ernest. Brighton and the General Strike. Brighton, Crabtree Press, 1975. 32p.

INDUSTRIAL HEALTH

19. Jackson, James. Health and safety — the new law. 2d ed. London, The Commercial Publishing Company, 1975. 108p.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

20. Kochan, Thomas Anton. A model of organizational change in the context of union-management relations, by Thomas A. Kochan and Lee Dyer. Ithaca, N.Y., 1976. p.59-78. (Cornell University. New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Reprint Series No. 390)

INFLATION

21. Auld, Douglas A.L. Issues in government expenditure growth, by D.A.L. Auld. Montreal, Canadian Economic Policy Committee, 1976. 59p.

22. Committee for Economic Development. Fighting inflation and promoting growth; a statement on national policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. New York, Committee for Economic Development, 1976. 96p.

23. The way ahead: a framework for discussion. Ottawa, 1976. 32p. Titre en français: La voie à suivre: un cadre de discussion. Distributed by the Department of Finance/Distribué par le Ministère de Finance.

INSURANCE, UNEMPLOYMENT

24. Green, Christopher. Unemployment in Canada: the impact of unemployment insurance, by Christopher Green and Jean-Michel Cousineau. Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada, 1976. 148p. Titre en français: Chômage et programmes d'assurance-chômage.

JOB ENRICHMENT

25. Ontario. Ministry of Labour. Research Branch. Innovative work arrangements; a case study in job enrichment: Philips Electronics Limited, Leaside, Ontario, by Ian S.G. Meadows. Toronto, 1976. 20p.

LABOUR HISTORY

26. Bonville, Jean de. Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit: les travailleurs montréalais à la fin du XIXe siècle. Préf. de Pierre Vadeboncoeur. Montréal, L'Aurore, 1975. 253p.

27. Seymour, Edward E. An illustrated history of Canadian labour, 1800-1974. Ottawa, Canadian Labour Congress, 1976. 91p.

LABOUR LAWS AND LEGISLATION

28. Illinois. Department of Labor. Division of Statistics, Programs and Publications. Illinois laws relating to labor and employment, 1976. Chicago, 1976. 221p.

29. U.S. Department of Labor. Labor-Management Services Administration. Compliance, enforcement and reporting in 1974 under the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. Washington, G.P.O., 1975. 115p.

LABOUR ORGANIZATION

30. Green, Gilbert. What's happening to labor, by Gil Green. New York, International Publishers, 1976. 305p.

LABOUR ORGANIZATION — HISTORY

31. Hutt, Allen. British trade unionism; a short history, by Allen Hutt. 6th ed., with concluding chapter by John Gollan. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1975. 265p.

MIGRANT LABOUR

32. Abadan-Unat, Nermin. Turkish workers in Europe, 1960-1975: a

socio-economic reappraisal. Leiden, Netherlands, E.J. Brill, 1976. 424p.

OCCUPATIONS

33. Conference Board. Changes in occupational characteristics: planning ahead for the 1980's by Leonard A. Lecht with Marc Matland and Richard Rosen. New York, 1976. 87p.

34. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Occupational outlook handbook, 1976-77 edition. Washington, G.P.O., 1976. 781p.

PENSIONS

35. Féraud, Lucien. Complementary pensions; a comparative analysis. Geneva, International Social Security Association, 1975. 123p.

PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR

36. Pratten, C.F. Labour productivity differentials within international companies. Cambridge, Eng., Cambridge University Press, 1976. 118p.

PUBLIC WELFARE

37. Stein, Bruno. Work and welfare in Britain and the USA. New York, Wiley, 1976. 112p.

RETIREMENT

38. Your third career, by George Radbourne and others. Ottawa, Environment Canada, 1975. 1v. (various pagings).

SOCIAL SECURITY

39. U.S Congress. House. Committee on Ways and Means. Subcommittee on Social Security. President's social security proposals: public hearings...Ninety-fourth congress, second session, February 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, and 19, 1976. Washington, G.P.O., 1976. 454p.

SOCIALISM

40. Rosen, Harvey Malcolm. The quest for a new social order: Harry W. Laidler and the League for Industrial Democracy. Ann Arbor, Xerox University Microfilms, 1976. 330p.

SOCIOLOGY

41. Varma, Baidya Nath. The new social sciences. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1976. 276p.

STATUS OF WOMEN

42. Ontario. Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Credit and you: women's access to credit in Ontario. Toronto, 1976. 15p.

TRADE AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

43. Conference Board. Unionization of professional societies, by Eileen B. Hoffman. New York, 1976. 58p.

WAGES AND HOURS

44. Fonseca, Aloysius Joseph. Wage issues in a developing economy: the Indian experience. Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1975. 264p.

45. Ross, Clark Grant. Investigation of unionized contract construction wage changes: a micro analysis 1960-1971. Ann Arbor, Xerox University Microfilms, 1976. 187p.

WOMEN

46. Decision Marketing Research Ltd. Women in Canada. Prepared for International Women's Year Secretariat, Privy Council Office, Ottawa. 2d ed. Toronto, 1976. 256p.

WOMEN — EMPLOYMENT

47. Chapman, Jane Roberts. Economic independence for women: the foundation for equal rights. Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, 1976. 285p.

48. Organize! A working women's handbook. Berkeley, Calif., UNION W.A.G.E. Educational Committee, 1975. 43p.

49. U.S. Women's Bureau. Mature women workers: a profile. Washington, G.P.O., 1976. 12p.

WOMEN IN LABOUR UNIONS

50. Hamilton, Mary Agnes (Adamson). Mary Macarthur; a biographical sketch. Westport, Conn., Hyperion Press, 1976. 209p.

labour statistics

Principal Items	Date	Amount	Percentage change from Previous Month	Percentage change from Previous Year
TOTAL CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE*		(unadjusted figures, in thousands)		
Week ended October 16, 1976		10,342	- 0.1	+ 3.6
Employed	October 1976	9,663	- 0.2	+ 2.7
Agriculture	" "	513	- 5	+ 3.8
Non-agriculture	" "	9,785	+ 0.2	+ 9.7
Paid workers	" "	9,300	+ 0.1	+11.0
At work 35 hours or more	" "	3,313	- 54.6	- 9.0
At work less than 35 hours	" "	5,785	+22.9	+ 9.1
Employed but not at work	" "	564	- 9.3	+ 4.6
		(change in thousands)		
Unemployed	October 1976	679	+ 9	+36
Newfoundland	" "	23	—	—
Nova Scotia	" "	32	+ 1	+10
Prince Edward Island	" "	4	—	—
New Brunswick	" "	26	—	+ 2
Quebec	" "	234	- 5	- 43
Ontario	" "	223	+ 21	—
Manitoba	" "	17	- 1	- 3
Saskatchewan	" "	12	—	—
Alberta	" "	29	+ 1	- 4
British Columbia	" "	81	- 7	- 15
Without work, seeking work and available for work	" "	610	+ 6	+99
		percentage change		
INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (1961 = 100)[r]	July 1976	146.8	- 0.6	+ 2.4
Manufacturing employment (1961 = 100)[r]	" "	129.4	- 1.0	+ 2.5
IMMIGRATION	First 6 months 1976	73,735	—	—
Destined to the labour force	" "	30,986	—	—
STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS‡				
Strikes and lockouts	September 1976	168	- 10.7	- 24.4
No. of workers involved	" "	149,465	+ 68.0	+83.8
Duration in man days	" "	2,336,236	+144.9	+81.4
EARNINGS AND INCOME				
Average weekly earnings (ind. comp.)[r]	July 1976	230.11	+ 0.3	+12.1
Average hourly earnings (mfg.)[r]	" "	5.79	- 0.2	+14.2
Average weekly hours paid (mfg.)[r]	" "	38.2	- 1.3	+ 0.3
Consumer price index (1971 = 100)	October 1976	151.7	+ 0.7	+ 6.2
Index numbers of weekly wages in 1961 dollars (1961 = 100)[r]	July 1976	148.3	- 2.0	+ 7.6
Total labour income (millions of dollars)†	September 1976	9,003.9	+ 3.1	+12.5
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION‡				
Total (average 1971 = 100)	September 1976	120.5	- 0.1	+ 6.2
Manufacturing	" "	120.7	- 0.2	+ 6.2
Durables	" "	122.6	- 0.3	+ 5.6
Non-durables	" "	118.8	- 0.2	+ 7.7
NEW RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION**				
Starts	September 1976	18,849	—	—
Completions	" "	17,659	—	+ 9
Under construction	" "	166,018	—	+21

*Source: Statistics Canada. *Labour Force Information*, Cat. No. 71-001P and *The Labour Force*, Cat. 71-001
†Advance data
‡Preliminary
**Centres of 10,000 population or more
[r] Revised

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

The *Gazette* will no longer carry a table on strikes and lockouts involving 100 or more workers. This information is available on request, from the Labour Organizations and Labour Disputes Division, Labour Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0J2.

Statistical information on work stoppages in Canada is compiled by the Labour Data Branch of the Canada Department of Labour on the basis of reports from the Canada Manpower Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration. The first three tables in this section cover strikes and lockouts that amount to 10 or more man-days. The number of workers onvolved includes all workers reported on strike or lockout, whether or not they all belonged to the union directly involved in the disputes leading to the work stoppages. Workers indirectly affected, such as those laid off as a result of a work stoppage, are not included.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1971-76

Month or Year	Strikes and Lockouts Beginning During Month of Year	Strikes and Lockouts in Existence During Month of Year: Strikes and Lockouts	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days: Man-Days	Per Cent of Estimated Working Time
1971	547	569	239,631	2,866,590	0.16
1972	556	598	706,474	7,753,530	0.43
1973	677	724	348,470	5,776,080	0.30
1974	1,170	1,216	592,220	9,255,120	0.46
1975	977	1,054	482,180	10,894,190	0.53
1975					
September	68	222	81,292	1,287,600	0.75
October	70	244	111,470	1,298,900	0.72
November	55	197	91,697	1,442,020	0.88
December	28	176	82,266	1,106,620	0.64
*1976					
January	33	164	54,590	842,250	0.49
February	46	170	148,145	603,130	0.37
March	71	170	172,468	483,060	0.25
April	66	157	303,708	702,250	0.40
May	85	177	268,076	707,930	0.42
June	118	238	190,197	1,183,080	0.62
July	61	197	79,058	1,330,020	0.71
August	62	188	88,931	953,940	0.50
September	51	168	134,465	1,736,230	0.97
January-September: 1975		901		6,982,980	0.45
January-September: 1976		726		8,541,890	0.52

*Preliminary.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, SEPTEMBER 1976, BY INDUSTRY (Preliminary)

Industry	Number Beginning During Month	In Effect During Month: Strikes and Lockouts	Workers Involved	Man-Days	Cumulative Man-Days (Jan. to Sept.)
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	670
Forestry	0	1	355	7,460	31,110
Fishing	0	0	0	0	350
Mines	1	8	2,591	28,880	534,820
Manufacturing	22	84	29,804	488,110	3,772,110
Construction	6	13	91,492	1,094,840	1,813,580
Transp. & Utilities	10	30	4,529	43,920	478,170
Trade	3	13	1,589	29,080	142,410
Finance	0	2	62	1,300	7,340
Service	7	12	3,814	38,560	1,040,800
Public Admin.	2	5	229	4,080	56,030
Various industries	0	0	0	0	664,500
TOTAL	51	168	134,465	1,736,230	8,541,890

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, SEPTEMBER 1976, BY JURISDICTION (Preliminary)

Jurisdiction	Number Beginning During Month	In Effect During Month: Strikes and Lockouts	Workers Involved	Man-Days	Cumulative Man-Days (Jan. to Sept.)
Newfoundland	2	4	187	1,380	130,790
P.E.I.	0	1	110	2,310	23,110
Nova Scotia	1	4	3,131	36,600	176,260
New Brunswick	1	4	2,243	11,240	229,840
Quebec	16	74	83,980	1,168,210	4,692,020
Ontario	12	37	9,153	101,970	1,393,050
Manitoba	2	2	154	1,330	89,850
Saskatchewan	3	7	788	10,210	112,770
Alberta	1	5	590	10,030	62,780
B.C.	8	15	30,706	354,170	1,444,740
Yukon & N.W.T.	0	0	0	0	0
Total, provinces	46	153	131,042	1,697,450	8,355,210
Federal Public Service (1)	0	0	0	0	3,730
Federal Industries (2)	5	15	2,423	38,780	182,950
Federal total	5	15	2,423	38,780	186,680
TOTAL	51	168	134,465	1,736,230	8,541,890

(1) Covered under the Public Service Staff Relations Act
(2) Covered under the Canada Labour Code: Part V.
NOTE: Numbers related only to workers directly involved in the dispute.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INVOLVING 100 OR MORE WORKERS, SEPT., 1976 (Preliminary)

Industry / Employer / Location	Union	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days: Sept.	Duration in Man-Days: Accumulated	Starting Date / Termination Date	Major Issues / Result
Forestry						
Woodlands Enterprises, Prince Albert, Sask.	Woodworkers Loc. 1-184 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	355	7,460	32,850	May 19	Wages, fringes, other issues —
Mines						
METAL						
St. Lawrence Columbium & Metals Corp., Oka, Quebec	Steelworkers Loc. 7579 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	170	3,570	28,650	Feb. 03	Wages, fringe benefits —
Whitehorse Copper Mines, Whitehorse, Yukon	Steelworkers Loc. 926 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	160	320	7,560	June 30 Sept. 03	Wages — Terminated by mutual agreement —
United Keno Hill Mines, Elsa, Yukon	Steelworkers Loc. 924 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	186	1,590	6,210	July 29 Sept. 13	Wages, fringe benefits — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Cyprus-Anvil Mines, Faro, Yukon	Steelworkers Loc. 1051 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	480	10,290	21,240	July 31	AIB rollback of wages —
Island Copper Mine, Port Hardy, B.C.	Int. Op. Engineers Loc. 115 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	625	1,250	1,250	Sept. 20 Sept. 22	Dismissal of an employee — Not reported —
MINERAL FUELS						
Fording Coal (Cominco), Elkford, B.C.	Chartered Local Loc. 1702 (CLC)	100	1,000	9,200	May 05 Sept. 16	Wages, length of contract — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Fording Coal (Cominco), Elkford, B.C.	Steelworkers Loc. 7884 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	720	7,710	68,390	May 06 Sept. 16	Wages, length of contract — Terminated by mutual agreement —
QUARRIES						
Demix Laval Ltd., Laval, Quebec	Syndicat des employés de Demix (CNTU)	150	3,150	12,300	June 05	Wages, fringe benefits —
Manufacturing						
FOOD & BEVERAGES						
Labatts Alberta Brewery, Edmonton, Alberta	Brewery Wkrs. Loc. 252 (CLC)	132	4,420	8,310	July 21 Sept. 07	Wages, pensions, plant operat'n — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Canadian Home Products, Niagara Falls, Ontario	Food Workers Loc. P767 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	250	4,250	11,000	July 23 Sept. 27	Wages, fringes, other issues — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Walter M. Lowneys, Sherbrooke, Quebec	Bakery Workers Loc. 476 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	550	9,900	15,400	Aug. 18 Sept. 27	Wages, fringe benefits — Not reported —
General Bakeries, Toronto, Ontario	Bakery Workers Loc. 264 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	194	3,300	4,080	Aug. 26 Sept. 25	Wages, fringe benefits — Not reported —

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INVOLVING 100 OR MORE WORKERS, SEPT., 1976 (Preliminary) (Cont'd)

Industry / Employer / Location	Union	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days: Sept.	Duration in Man-Days: Accumulated	Starting Date / Termination Date	Major Issues / Result
Blue Water Sea Foods, Lachine, Quebec	Food Workers Loc. P-551 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	185	560	560	Sept. 28	Not reported —
TOBACCO PRODUCTS						
Imperial Tobacco, Guelph, Ontario	Tobacco Workers Loc. 323 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	730	1,460	1,460	Sept. 23	Suspension of local President — President reinstated —
TEXTILES						
Celanese Canada, Drummondville, Quebec	Syndicat des employés de Celanese (CNTU)	1,471	31,520	168,110	Apr. 26	Wages, fringes, other issues —
WOOD						
Canadian Forest Products, Huntting-Merrit, B.C.	Woodworkers Loc. 1-217 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	170	2,040	188,870	Sept. 13/ 1972 Sept. 19/ 1976	Shorter hours, elimination of piece rates — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Bellerive Veneer & Plywood, Mont-Laurier, Quebec	Carpenters Loc. 2399 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	166	2,160	13,120	May 31 Sept. 21	Wages — Not reported —
Welwood Ltd., Long Lac, Ontario	Carpenters Loc. 2693 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	325	5,850	5,850	Sept. 07	Wages —
FURNITURE & FIXTURES						
Metal Works Ltd., Lachine, Quebec	Steelworkers Loc. 7599 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	125	1,130	1,130	Sept. 20	Not reported —
PAPER						
Reed Paper Co., Dryden, Ontario	Various unions	1,044	15,660	74,530	June 14 Sept. 22	Wages — Agreement reached workers return —
Boxcraft Ltd., Montreal, Quebec	CSD	125	1,880	3,010	Aug. 19	Not reported — Not reported —
J. Ford & Cie, Portneuf, Quebec	CSD	335	7,040	8,380	Aug. 26	Not reported —
Standard Paper Box, Montreal & Quebec, Que.	Fed'n of Paper & Forest Wkrs. (CNTU)	575	12,080	13,230	Aug. 27	Non-wage issues —
PRIMARY METALS						
Ontario Malleable Iron, Oshawa, Ontario	Steelworkers Loc. 1500 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	220	4,620	39,380	Jan. 18	Wages, fringe benefits —
Sidbec-Dosco, Contrecoeur, Quebec	Steelworkers various locs. (AFL-CIO/CLC)	1,190	25,500	125,350	May 06	Wages, fringes, hours of work —
Benn Iron Foundry, Wallaceburg, Ontario	Auto Workers Loc. 251 (CLC)	240	5,040	21,120	May 27	Wages —
Canada Valve Ltd., Kitchener, Ontario	Moulders Loc. 279 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	140	2,940	12,040	May 29	Wages, other issues —

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INVOLVING 100 OR MORE WORKERS, SEPT., 1976 (Preliminary) (Cont'd)

Industry Employer Location	Union	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days Sept.	 Accumulated	Starting Date Termination Date	Major Issues Result
Alcan, various locations, Quebec	Fed'n of Aluminum Unions (Ind)	8,669	185,760	743,060	June 03	Wages, pensions, safety —
Kelsey Hayes Canada Ltd., Woodstock, Ont.	Auto Workers Loc. 636 (CLC)	235	470	470	Sept. 01 Sept. 02	Problem of discipline — Not reported —
METAL FABRICATING						
Sidbec-Dosco Ltée., Montréal, Québec	Steelworkers (AFL-CIO/CLC)	1,000	21,430	102,810	May 10	Wages —
Sidbec-Dosco (Truscon) LaSalle, Quebec	Steelworkers Loc. 5063, 6025 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	234	4,910	23,620	May 10	Wages, fringe benefits —
Sidbec-Dosco Ltd., Etobicoke, Ontario	Steelworkers Loc. 5927, 5629 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	230	4,830	21,850	May 16	Wages —
Dynamic Industries, Quebec, Quebec	Auto Workers Loc. 1044 (CLC)	100	1,700	3,600	Aug. 05	Not reported — Not reported —
Bridge and Tank, Hamilton, Ontario	Steelworkers Loc. 2537 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	136	1,220	2,850	Aug. 16 Sept. 15	Job security, vacations — Not reported —
Industrial Fastners, Marieville, Quebec	Steelworkers Loc. 6839 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	375	3,380	3,380	Sept. 07 Sept. 20	Not reported — Not reported —
Velan Engineering, Montreal, Quebec	Fed'n of Metal Trades Unions (CNTU)	350	6,300	6,300	Sept. 07	Wages, other issues —
MACHINERY						
Borg Warner Canada, Scarborough, Ontario	Machinists Loc. 235 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	117	350	1,930	Aug. 12 Sept. 07	Wages, other issues — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Sheldon's Engineering, Cambridge, Ontario	Steelworkers Loc. 2931 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	185	1,390	1,390	Sept. 17 Sept. 29	Co-op. wage study — Terminated by mutual agreement
TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT						
Motor Wheel Corp., Chatham, Ontario	Auto Workers Loc. 127 (CLC)	588	12,350	54,690	May 19	Wages, fringe benefits —
Skiroule Ltée, Wickham, Québec	Steelworkers Loc. 776 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	130	2,730	8,580	June 29	Wages, fringe benefits —
Fruehauf Trailor, Mississauga, Ontario	Auto Workers Loc. 252 (CLC)	339	7,120	21,020	July 05	Wages, fringes, length of agmt. —
Ralph Milrod Metals, Mississauga, Ontario	Machinists Loc. 2506 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	210	1,010	1,610	Aug. 26 Sept. 09	Contract issues — Ordered back by OLRB —
General Motors, Ste. Thérèse, Québec	Auto Workers Loc. 1163 (CLC)	3,100	18,600	21,700	Aug. 31 Sept. 10	Suspensions and firings — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Hawker Siddeley Canada, Halifax, N.S.	Marine Workers Loc. 1 (CLC)	1,100	11,000	11,000	Sept. 17	AIB rollback of wage increase —

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INVOLVING 100 OR MORE WORKERS, SEPT., 1976 (Preliminary) (Cont'd)

Industry / Employer / Location	Union	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days: Sept.	Duration in Man-Days: Accumulated	Starting Date / Termination Date	Major Issues / Result
Griffin Steel Foundries, Winnipeg, Manitoba	Industrial Mechanical Wkrs. Loc. 1 (CCU)	145	1,310	1,310	Sept. 20	Wages, fringe benefits —
Bendix Heavy Vehicle Systems, London, Ont.	Auto Workers Loc. 27 (CLC)	550	1,650	1,650	Sept. 27 Sept. 30	AIB rollback of wage increase — Not reported —
ELECTRICAL PRODUCTS						
A. Bélanger Ltée, Montmagny, Québec	CNTU	400	8,400	44,400	Apr. 26	Wages, fringes, other issues —
Great Lakes Carbon, Berthierville, Quebec	Fed'n of Metal Trades Unions (CNTU)	187	4,010	14,550	June 14	Wages, fringe benefits —
Fruehauf Trailor, Mississauga, Ontario	Steelworkers Loc. 5788 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	243	1,620	10,660	July 10 Sept. 11	Wages — Terminated by mutual agreement
Enheat Ltd., Amherst, N.S.	Steelworkers Loc. 4883, 6874, 2231 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	240	5,040	13,920	July 12 Sept. 30	Wages, other issues — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Enheat Ltd., Sackville, N.B.	Steelworkers Loc. 8202 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	120	2,520	5,880	July 22	Wages —
General Electric, Trenton, Ontario	U.E. Loc. 509 (CLC)	200	430	430	Sept. 01 Sept. 07	Seniority grievance — Not reported —
NON-METALLIC MINERAL PRODUCTS						
Fiberglass Canada, Edmonton, Alberta	Oil Workers Loc. 9-728 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	265	1,860	5,040	Aug. 16 Sept. 13	Wages, fringe benefits — Terminated by mutual agreement —
Compagnie Montco Ltée, Montréal, Québec	Steelworkers (AFL-CIO/CLC)	100	2,100	2,900	Aug. 23	Not reported —
Dominion Glass, Redcliff, Alberta	Glass & Ceramic Wkrs. Loc. 201 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	307	2,410	2,410	Sept. 20	Wages, length of contract —
CHEMICAL PRODUCTS						
C.I.L. Ltd., Nobel, Ontario	Steelworkers Loc. 13704 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	175	3,680	20,140	Apr. 15	Wages, other issues —
Sico Inc., Quebec & Montreal, Quebec	Fed'n of Metal Trades Unions (CNTU)	150	3,150	13,650	May 24	Wages, vacations —
MISCELLANEOUS MFRG.						
Sperry Gyroscope, Ottawa, Ontario	Auto Workers Loc. 641 (CLC)	125	630	1,190	Aug. 25 Sept. 09	Wages, other issues — Not reported —
Construction						
P.E.I. Construction Ass'n, various locations, P.E.I.	IBEW Loc. 1432 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	110	2,310	15,840	Mar. 09	Dispute over hiring 2 men —
Const. Ass'n Mgmt. Labour Bureau, various locations, N.S.	Plumbers Loc. 56, 244 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	861	16,530	56,090	June 21	Wages —

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INVOLVING 100 OR MORE WORKERS, SEPT., 1976 (Preliminary) (Cont'd)

Industry / Employer / Location	Union	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days: Sept.	Duration in Man-Days: Accumulated	Starting Date / Termination Date	Major Issues / Result
N.B. Mechanical Const. Ass'n., province wide, N.B.	Plumbers various locs. (AFL-CIO/CLC)	1,500	7,500	15,010	July 22 Sept. 08	Slow negotiations — Return of workers —
Const. Lab. Relations Ass'n., Vancouver, B.C.	Plumbers Loc. 170 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	200	3,400	5,000	Aug. 20	Parking, meal arrangements — Not reported —
Employers Const. Ass'n. of N.B., various locations, N.B.	IBEW various locals (AFL-CIO/CLC)	560	560	2,240	Aug. 27 Sept. 02	Wages — Not reported —
Const. Labour Relations Ass'n, province wide, B.C.	Various unions	26,300	306,100	306,100	Sept. 03	Lockout after plumbers strike —
Bechtel Canada, Corunna, Ontario	Labourers Loc. 1089 & Cement Workers Loc. 915 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	1,500	6,000	6,000	Sept. 27	Jurisdictional dispute —
Ass'n of Building Contractors, province wide, Quebec	QFL	60,000	750,000	750,000	Sept. 07	Wages, other issues —
Several Contractors of S.P.C., Estevan, Sask.	Various const. unions	276	670	670	Sept. 29	Jurisdictional dispute —
Transportation & Utilities						
TRANSPORTATION						
Commission de Transport, Quebec, Quebec	Synd. des employés de garages (CSD)	140	3,000	8,500	July 08	Wages —
Metropolitain Sud Inc., Longueuil, Quebec	Public Service Fed'n (CNTU)	110	2,360	6,690	July 08	Wages —
Metropolitain Provincial Inc., Montreal, Quebec	Public Service Fed'n (CNTU)	150	3,210	7,490	July 23	Wages —
Maritime Employers' Ass'n., Halifax, N.S.	ILA Loc. 269, 1825 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	650	13,930	25,070	Aug. 08	Dispatch rules —
Fred Sowchuk Trucking, Sparwood, B.C.	Mine Workers Dist. 18 Loc. 7292 (CLC)	100	300	500	Aug. 30 Sept. 06	Wages — Not reported —
Eastern Provincial Airways, Gander, Nfld.	Airline Empls. Ass'n (CLC)	105	1,880	1,990	Aug. 31 Sept. 26	Wages, hours, other issues —
Voyageur Bus, Montreal, Quebec	CNTU	296	2,110	2,110	Sept. 03 Sept. 13	Respecting picket lines of PS — Return of employees —
Chapman Transport, province wide, B.C.	Teamsters Loc. 213 (Ind)	236	2,830	2,830	Sept. 15	Wages —
B.C. Railway, Prince George, other points, B.C.	Maintenance of Way, various locals (AFL-CIO/CLC)	130	130	130	Sept. 20 Sept. 21	AIB rejected contract — Not reported —

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS INVOLVING 100 OR MORE WORKERS, SEPT., 1976 (Preliminary) (Concl'd)

Industry / Employer / Location	Union	Workers Involved	Duration in Man-Days: Sept.	Duration in Man-Days: Accumulated	Starting Date / Termination Date	Major Issues / Result
B.C. Railway, various points, B.C.	Can. Union of Transp. Empls. Loc. 1 (Ind)	170	340	340	Sept. 21 Sept. 23	AIB rejected contract — Not reported —
OC Transpo, Ottawa, Ontario	Transit Wkrs. Loc. 279 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	1,275	2,730	2,730	Sept. 24	Wages, other issues — Terminated by mutual agreement —
COMMUNICATION						
Canadian National Telegraphs, Gander, Newfoundland	Railway, Transport & General Wkrs. (CLC)	120	2,520	18,280	Feb. 28	Dispute over shift scheduling —
POWER, GAS, WATER						
B.C. Hydro, Province wide, B.C.	Office Empls. Loc. 378 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	569	1,710	17,900	July 06 Sept. 07	Wages — Not reported —
Trade						
K-Mart Stores, Windsor, Ontario	Food Workers Loc. 725 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	200	4,330	16,000	June 09	Wages, union shop —
Kresge Co., Mississauga, Ontario	Teamsters Loc. 419 (Ind)	100	2,170	6,750	June 26	Contract language —
Macdonalds & Empress Foods, Vancouver & Victoria, B.C.	Retail Wholesale Loc. 580 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	800	16,800	28,000	Aug. 12	Right to strike —
Provigain Ltée (14 magasins), Saguenay Area, Quebec	Commerce Fed'n (CNTU)	243	1,010	1,010	Sept. 07	Wages — Not reported —
Service						
EDUCATION						
Université de Laval, Québec, Québec	Synd. des prof. de univ. de Laval	1,000	18,000	18,000	Sept. 07	Wages, other issues —
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.	Various unions	731	12,430	12,430	Sept. 08	Wages, reduced work week —
Hamilton Board of Education, Hamilton, Ontario	Office & Professional Loc. 343 (AFL-CIO/CLC)	100	400	400	Sept. 27	Wages, fringe benefits —
University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario	Public Empls. Loc. 1001 (CLC)	224	900	900	Sept. 27	Not reported —
Université du Québec, various locations, Quebec	Nat. Fed. of Que. Teachers (CNTU)	700	700	700	Sept. 28 Sept. 29	Slow negotiations — Return of professors —
HEALTH & WELFARE						
N.S. Ass'n of Health Orgs., various locations, N.S.	Public Empls. various locs. (CLC)	930	4,030	39,030	July 12 Sept. 07	Wages — Terminated by mutual agreement —

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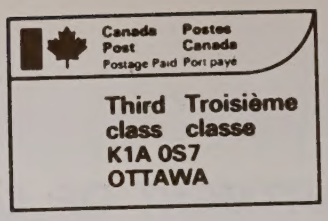

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